

**Forty-Eighth Annual
REPORT**

of the

**Hawaiian Historical
Society**

FOR THE YEAR 1939



Honolulu, Hawaii
Published June, 1940

**Forty-Eighth Annual
REPORT**

of the

**Hawaiian Historical
Society**

FOR THE YEAR 1939



Honolulu, Hawaii
Published June, 1940

*The Hawaiian Historical Society is not responsible for the views
expressed by writers who contribute to its proceedings.*

*Contents of this Report
May be Reprinted in
Whole or Part if Credit
is Given to Author and
Society.*

Printed by
Hawaiian Printing Co., Ltd.
1940

CONTENTS

	Page
Officers and Committees for 1940	4
Suggestions for Authors	5
Minutes of Annual Meeting	7
Report of the President	9
Report of the Treasurer	11
Report of the Librarian	12
Money of Hawaii, Including a Preliminary Check List of Hawaiian Currency, Coins, Patterns, Scrip and Tokens	14
Donald Billam-Walker	
Geographic Factors in Early Sheep Husbandry in the Hawaiian Islands (1791-1870)	29
Alfred L. Lomax	
Chamisso in Hawaii	55
Victor S. K. Houston, translator	
List of Members	83
Kauai Historical Society	87

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OFFICERS FOR 1940

President RALPH S. KUYKENDALL
 Vice-President HON. WALTER F. FREAR
 Secretary (Recording and Corresponding) PENROSE C. MORRIS
 Treasurer THOMAS W. ELLIS
 Librarian MRS. VIOLET A. SILVERMAN
 Trustee until 1941 THOMAS W. ELLIS
 Trustee until 1941 PENROSE C. MORRIS
 Trustee until 1941 J. TICE PHILLIPS
 Trustee until 1942 HON. WALTER F. FREAR
 Trustee until 1942 MAUDE JONES
 Trustee until 1942 BERNICE JUDD

TRUSTEE, LIBRARY OF HAWAII
 C. BRYANT COOPER

COMMITTEES

FINANCE COMMITTEE

Thomas W. Ellis, Chairman
 George S. Waterhouse William W. Chamberlain

HOUSE COMMITTEE

Miss Margaret Newman, Chairman
 Miss Janet Bell Mrs. Violet A. Silverman

EDITORIAL AND PRINTING COMMITTEE

Miss Bernice Judd, Chairman
 Mrs. G. B. Burtnett Miss Emily Warinner

PURCHASING COMMITTEE

Mrs. Violet A. Silverman, Chairman
 Thomas Nickerson Victor S. K. Houston

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

Miss Maude Jones, Chairman
 George T. Lecker Bro. Charles Cummingsmith

PROGRAM AND RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Miss Ethel M. Damon, Chairman
 Miss Jane Winne Ira F. Berkey

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Edward L. Caum, Chairman
 Mrs. K. Macfarlane Thompson William H. Soper

SUGGESTIONS FOR AUTHORS

1. Papers should be in a form suitable for publication and complete when communicated to the Society.

2. Copy should be typewritten, lines double-spaced, and on only one side of the sheet. Use good paper of letter size, approximately $8\frac{1}{2}$ x 11 inches.

3. Leave margins as follows: $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the top and on the left side, 1 inch at the bottom and on the right side.

4. If possible keep the number of lines on each sheet the same. This is a convenience to the printer in estimating the length of the article when printed.

5. Pages should be numbered consecutively, but, if necessary, additional pages may be inserted; in such case, note on the bottom margin of the page after which the insert is to be placed, the number of pages to be inserted, as, Insert 8a-8c, and then number the pages to be inserted, 8a, 8b, 8c.

6. Short inserts may be pasted (not pinned) to the pages in which they are to be inserted, with the place of insertion clearly marked.

7. Fasten the sheets of a manuscript by clips or pins. Do not sew or tie them together, as they are likely to be torn.

8. References should be given, in footnotes, for all quotations and for important statements, especially when based on original sources or on newly discovered, little used, rare, or doubtful authority.

9. For every footnote there must be a key number placed above the line directly *after* the portion of the text to which it applies. A footnote may be placed either (1) directly below the line in which the key number appears and separated from the text by lines drawn across the page, or (2) at the bottom of the page and separated from the text by a line ten or more spaces long measured from the left margin.

10. Number footnotes consecutively throughout the entire article.

11. Hawaiian words which have not become well Anglicised, names of ships, newspapers, periodicals, and titles of printed books should be italicised (i.e. underlined in manuscript), and not put in capital letters or inside quotation marks.

12. The Society reserves the right to reject manuscripts which are not in suitable condition for publication, and to request authors to make necessary revisions.

EXAMPLES OF FOOTNOTES IN APPROVED FORM

¹ Peter H. Buck, *Vikings of the Sunrise* (New York, 1938), p. 256.

² Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1927), II, 614.

³ Richard W. Van Alstyne, "Great Britain, the United States, and Hawaiian Independence, 1850-1855," *Pacific Historical Review*, IV (March, 1935), 21.

⁴ W. F. Frear, quoted in *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, April 15, 1916.

⁵ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Feb. 3, 1859.

⁶ F. W. Hutchison to Parker Makee, Oct. 2, 1868, Interior Department Letterbook 8, Archives of Hawaii.

⁷ Privy Council Record, III, 803 (Aug. 30, 1850).

MINUTES OF ANNUAL MEETING

February 27, 1940

The Annual Meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held on the above date in the Assembly room of the Library of Hawaii.

The Hon. Walter F. Frear introduced the Hon. Judge F. W. Howay, an honorary member of the Society, to the meeting. Judge Howay then presented to the Society a photographic copy of the manuscript journal of Lt. Puget of the "Chatham," one of Vancouver's vessels. This journal deals with Hawaii, and states that taro flour was manufactured here in the year 1794.

Dr. A. W. Slaten introduced Reuben L. Underhill, Californian Historian, and author of "From Cowhides to Golden Fleece," a narrative of California, 1832-1858. This work contains references to Hawaii, based on the unpublished correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, Trader, and only American Consul of California when it was part of Mexico.

Prof. Ralph S. Kuykendall was elected President of the Society, and Bernice Judd, Maude Jones, and Walter F. Frear, new Trustees.

A motion was made by Mr. Stokes and carried that the Trustees be authorized to consider historical errors, which appear in publications about Hawaii, and help to correct them.

The Reports of the President, (Walter F. Frear), the Treasurer (Mr. Ellis), and the Librarian, (Mrs. Silverman), were received and ordered printed.

Mr. Stokes addressed the meeting on the subject of popularizing the Society, and making it more active.

The following papers were read:

"Money of Hawaii"—by D. Billam-Walker.

"Chamisso's Account of a Voyage Around the World on 'The Rurik' "—1815-1818—prepared by Victor S. K. Houston from the German, was, in his absence, read in extracts, by Mr. Stokes.

This paper gives interesting data about the painting of Kamehameha's portrait by Choris, and other Hawaiian data.

Prof. A. L. Lomax' paper "Geographic Factors in Early Sheep Husbandry in the Hawaiian Islands"—1791-1870, was received, but time did not permit of its being read.

All three papers were ordered to be printed in the Annual Report.

The meeting then adjourned.

PENROSE C. MORRIS,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Members of the
HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

Your Society has completed its 48th year.

The finances are in sound condition—notwithstanding unusually large expense in printing. This expense included the cost of the 76-page 47th Annual Report, which contained also three historical papers and several illustrations, and the cost of publishing papers presented at an interim meeting the previous year.

The membership has about held its own, although there was no special effort as there was so successfully the year before, to obtain new members. There are always some gains and some losses. At present there are 2 honorary, 21 life, and 234 annual members, besides the 54 members of the Kauai branch.

Two amendments were made in the By-laws. One of these eliminated the initiation fee of one dollar, leaving the annual dues two dollars, for annual members. The other eliminated the requirement that the president must be one of the four trustees necessary to constitute a quorum of the Board.

We especially regret the passing of Dr. William D. Westervelt and Mr. Bruce Cartwright. Both of these were life members deeply interested in the objects and activities of the Society. Each had served as President and as Treasurer; the former also as Corresponding Secretary; and both on various committees. Both were valued contributors of historical papers and of additions to the library. Dr. Westervelt was long the representative of the Society on the Board of Trustees of the Library of Hawaii, and was succeeded in this capacity by Mr. Cartwright, who in turn is now succeeded by Mr. C. Bryant Cooper. Besides his wide and varied influential position in the community, Dr. Westervelt was the author of many books, including five volumes of Hawaiian legends of various classifications, and had before his death practically completed a volume on Kamehameha the Great. He also translated several books into the Hawaiian language. Mr. Cartwright shortly before his death arranged to have placed in the City Hall a replica of the bronze plaque of bust and inscription unveiled last year, on the hundredth anniversary of baseball, in the Baseball Hall of Fame at Coopers-town, New York, in honor of his grandfather, Alexander Joy

Cartwright, the founder of modern baseball, who also was an original member and a benefactor of this Society.

Special note might well be made also of the death of William F. Wilson, who, though he kept quietly in the background, was long an annual member of the Society and a contributor of papers and of additions to its Library. He also accumulated a large collection of Hawaiiana, and compiled and edited several booklets on early Hawaii,—one on the distinguished botanist David Douglas who met a tragic death on Hawaii in 1834; one consisting of extracts from the diary of James Macrae the botanist with Lord Byron in 1825; and one from the diary of Archibald Menzies, surgeon and naturalist of the three voyages of Vancouver in 1792-4.

The year kept up well with preceding recent years in copious output of what might be classed as Hawaiiana. While not so rich as the immediately preceding year in historical works, it presents a goodly variety including some of an historical nature. Among them may be mentioned Helen Gay Pratt's *In Hawaii a Hundred Years*, Peter H. Buck's *Anthropology and Religion*, Henry P. Judd's *The Hawaiian Language*, John W. Vandercook's *King Cane*, H. L. Shapiro's *Migration and Environment*, Don Blanding's *Drifter's Gold*, Klaus Mehnert's *The Russians in Hawaii* and William H. George and Paul S. Bachman's revised *The Government of Hawaii, Federal, Territorial, and County*.

Opportunely, *The Honolulu Advertiser* in last Sunday's issue published a full page illustrated article on the Society by Gerald B. Burnett.

The Library continues to prove of great value to researchers. Honolulu is rich in libraries, public and private, which serve this purpose. The Society's Library, although containing nearly 6,500 books, pamphlets and volumes of newspapers, besides pictures, may well be augmented advantageously by gifts from interested and generous donors.

Respectfully submitted,

W. F. FREAR,
President.

Honolulu, T. H.,
February 28, 1940.

TREASURER'S REPORT

February 10, 1939 to February 23, 1940

Income

Balance in Commercial Account as of February 10, 1939	\$ 528.51	
Dues	687.00	
Dues, Kauai Historical Society	54.00	
Sale of Reports	53.15	
From Savings Account	500.00	\$1,822.66

Disbursements

Dues, Business Historical Society	\$ 10.00	
Dues, California Historical Society	10.00	
Dues, Pacific Historical Review	4.00	
Dues, Hawaiian Volcano Research Association	5.00	
Postage, Envelopes and Stationery	11.10	
Mellen Associates (Meeting Notices, Meeting Reports)	59.45	
Bishop Trust Co. (Safe Deposit Box)	3.30	
Printshop and Star-Bulletin (450 copies Historical Papers)	691.61	
Pacific Herald (500 Copies 47th Annual Report)	322.75	
Foster & Futernick (Binding Periodicals and Re- pairing Books)	196.75	
Purchase of Books	12.40	1,326.36

Balance in Commercial Account as of February 23, 1940	\$ 496.30
--	-----------

Endowment Fund

Balance in Savings Account as of February 10, 1939	\$ 768.46	
Interest on Savings Account	10.32	
Interest on Bonds	80.00	
Dividends, von Hamm-Young stock	89.47	
Dividends, Pacific Gas & Electric Co. stock	93.75	
	\$1,042.00	
Less Transferred to Commercial Account	500.00	542.00

Assets

Two \$1000. Theo. H. Davies bonds, par	\$2,000.00	
Fifteen shares von Hamm-Young preferred stock	1,517.60	
Fifty shares Pac. Gas & Electric preferred	1,506.95	
Cash in Commercial Account	496.30	
Cash in Savings Account	542.00	\$6,062.85

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS W. ELLIS,
Treasurer.

Audited and found correct:

D. W. ANDERSON, Auditor

February 24, 1940.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN 1939

The work of the Library has gone forward as usual, the cataloging of new books and pamphlets has been slow but gradually the work is being accomplished. Several sections of books have had their labels renewed and their cards revised. Sixteen books and seventeen pamphlets have been catalogued and fifty-four pamphlets were discarded.

With Miss Green's help, all the duplicate pamphlets, reports, bulletins and other material that had been accumulating down the years were looked over. This material had been dumped on the mezzanine in our last move, and left to gather dust until we had time to go over it piece by piece. Some of the pamphlets were discarded; some were set aside to give to different libraries, and all the old reports were sent to the Archives. Some of the material did not fit into any category and that has been put aside for further consideration.

More newspapers were sent to the Coast bindery for repairs and rebinding. This shipment will finish up the worst ones in the Library. From now on there will be only straight mending and the rebinding to be done. The finished product will now last a life time or two. Bulletins, reports and other continuations were also sent, as binding these yearly accumulations as soon as possible makes these collections more useful.

The research work done for outside sources has been negligible. Such questions as, something of interest for a club program on Hawaii from Joplin, Missouri; a request from a man in Palo Alto for legal material; a man in Los Angeles wanted to buy the statutes of the Royal Order of Kamehameha and Kalakaua and wanted the history of each. I could help with the histories, but could only suggest he try to purchase them from second hand dealers. Research has been done in the library in a variety of subjects: the sacrificial stones of Kolekole Pass, the birth stones of the Alii at Wahiawa, the history of the town of Wahiawa, the legends of Windward Oahu, the history of the Historical Society, the beginnings of the Outdoor Circle and the history of horse racing.

The fame of the Historical Society has gone abroad, as a man in Italy, who is writing a history of Pirates in the Pacific wrote for Mr. Alexander's, *Career of the Chilean Pirate and Its Capture in 1822*, this being a part of Paper 13. The Dan-American Archives of Denmark asked to be put on our mailing list, and we have had several requests from mainland firms for price lists.

We have also sold a complete set and several individual copies to people not members of the Society.

The books bought this year are: Herman Melville by Charles Roberts Anderson, published in cooperation with the Modern Language Association of America. Rothschild, Birds of Layson and the Hawaiian Islands, a beautiful book with over 60 colored plates. We have wanted this book for some time but couldn't afford to buy it until this chance came to get it at a price we could pay. It is a mint copy in perfect condition. It has already been sent to the bindery and I expect it will be back in the library in a month for the inspection of the members.

Other books added to the collection by purchase are: The Hawaiian Annual, 1939, Judd, Hawaiian Language, King Cane by Vandercook, and In Hawaii a Hundred Years by Helen Gay Pratt.

The Library has received as gifts: Drake's Plate of Brass and Drake's Plate of Brass Authenticated, from the California Historical Society, through the courtesy of Dr. Chickering, its President; A History of an Advertising Agency by Professor Hower; and a Casebook in American Business History by Grasard Larsen, both from the Business Historical Library.

The Library has not been as popular as last year as it has only been used 317 times against last year's 332.

I wish to express the thanks and appreciation of the Society for the gifts and exchanges that have been added to our collection.

Respectfully submitted,

VIOLET A. SILVERMAN,
Librarian.

Money of Hawaii

*Including a Preliminary Check List of Hawaiian Currency,
Coins, Patterns, Scrip and Tokens**

By DONALD BILLAM-WALKER

Ancient Hawaiians never bothered about money. They didn't have any. But they soon learned to use it after the coming of Capt. James Cook, RN, in 1778.

After their first contact with the Caucasians, the Hawaiians used a variety of articles as money. Such things as beads, nails and bits of iron became popular as mediums of exchange.

From that point it was relatively a very short step to the use of gold and silver coins of other nations. Kamehameha I is generally regarded as the first of the Hawaiians to accept gold and silver as exchange mediums. When Kamehameha died in 1819, he is reputed to have left \$200,000 in gold and silver coins.

With the exception of a copper cent issued in 1847, many years, however, were to elapse before Hawaii had its own national coinage, in 1883. Principally due to a scarcity of the smaller kinds of foreign coins, meanwhile several individuals, firms and institutions were given the privilege of making their own scrip or trade money.

Some of such scrip was valid for making tax payments, the issuers later redeeming such from the Hawaiian treasury with gold or silver. Such scrip therefore perhaps could be considered as legal "coin of the realm."

It would be foolish to "pity" the ancient Hawaiians for their "lack" of money. They got along quite well without a standardized medium of exchange. Their economic system simply did not call for the use of money. Had the Hawaiians felt the need of a standardized exchange medium it is safe to say they, as inventive as any other intelligent people, would have devised such.

In fact, the Hawaiians in developing an economic system in which there was no use for money may have been showing more intelligence than the people of "progressive" nations.

The Hawaiians can be said to have had no "price" system. And so they were never called upon to destroy every third piglet, nor "plow up" every 10th row of taro in order to "keep up prices," while at the same time thousands of their fellow citizens

* (Under the title Making Money in Hawaii, the preliminary draft of the text of this article was published in The Honolulu Star-Bulletin of April 9, 1938).

starved. No one starved in Hawaii—except by reason of war or natural causes such as droughts.

Any necessary trading was done by barter. Although no proof exists, there is reason to believe that some articles, adzes from the quarries of Mauna Kea the most likely, had approximate values assigned to them as in some cases they probably went through several hands in passing from maker to ultimate owner.

The question has been raised in the past as to whether the Hawaiians may at some time have used shell money. There is no proof that they did so nor is there reason to believe that such would have been likely in view of the fact that under the ancient system there was no need of money. John F. G. Stokes, who has studied this point extensively, believes that the Hawaiians never made use of shells as money.

Some writers have expressed the opinion that feathers of certain birds may have been used for money. Although certain feathers were highly prized, study of the ancient culture indicates they were never used as money. Perhaps this false idea has crept in due to early visitors having recorded that a certain number of the rarer kinds of feathers were worth such and such. For example: a tag attached to the Starbuck feather cloak (which was taken to England in 1823, returned to Hawaii a few years ago) in the Bishop museum says that five mamo feathers "are sold for a hog." J. J. Jarves, writing in 1839, sets a value of "not less than \$1,000,000" on the mamo war cloak of Kamehameha the Great, on the ground of the amount of labor which went into it and that "a piece of nankeen, valued at \$1.50, was formerly the price of five feathers of this kind."

With the overthrow of the tabu system in 1819 and the subsequent breaking up of the feudal system, prices may have been set on such feathers by the bird catchers and sold to foreigners and other Hawaiians. But before the breakup of the feudal system, setting of such prices would have been impossible—as all feathers belonged to the king. They were collected by the members of a closely knit guild, the *poe hahai* (feather gatherers), who formed part of the retinue of the king.

The feather gatherers were given clothing, protection and sustenance by the king the whole year round, even though their professional work was seasonal. They gathered feathers only at the times the different birds were best for plucking. The rest of the year they did odd jobs around the court. There was no idea of "selling" the feathers to the king. The feather gatherers would present their catches to the king on the basis that such belonged to the king. In return, it was understood that the feather gatherers would be supported by the king. They were not paid "wages." The feather gatherers shared the fortunes of the court.

Early in the 19th century, sandalwood became a medium of exchange between the chiefs and the foreign traders. Although it continued to be sold, sandalwood later was replaced as an actual exchange medium by foreign coins. A value in money was set on the sandalwood and such was paid for in coin, rather than in goods as had been the case earlier.

Due to the difference in ideas between Hawaiians and foreigners as to "values," difficulties in buying and selling often resulted. Campbell, writing in 1808, says that \$1 was the universal price demanded by the Hawaiians for almost everything in the way of curios and other small articles they offered to the foreigner.

Despite the fact that the foreign coins which began to come into Hawaii were from practically every nation under the sun, the Hawaiians early began to think of money in dollars and cents rather than in pounds, shillings and pence or any other monetary system. Perhaps this was brought about not so much by the relatively easy means of computing under the decimal system as by the large number of American traders who did business in Hawaii and by the tremendous influence upon the Hawaiians of the early missionaries all of whom were Americans.

Cent became "keneta" in Hawaii. Dollar became "dala." Other terms were: half dollar "hapalua"; quarter dollar, "hapaha", one eighth dollar, "hapawalu", one sixteenth dollar, "hapaumi." Hapaumi actually means "half of 10," or 5 cents, but as nickels were not used this term was applied to its nearest counterpart, the $\frac{1}{2}$ rial or $6\frac{1}{4}$ cent token.

The scrip and trade money of the Hawaiian kingdom offers an interesting field of study, yet strangely only one person Bruce Cartwright, seems to have given it any serious thought. Mr. Cartwright published his findings in an article entitled, *The Money of Hawaii*, in the *Hawaiian Annual for 1929*. He refers to such scrip and trade money as "tokens."

The earliest use of scrip in Hawaii on record was at Koloa plantation, Kauai, in 1836, when Manager William Hooper, faced with a shortage of coin, paid his men in pasteboard scrip known as "Kauai currency" in denominations of $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents, 25 cents and 50 cents, redeemable at the plantation store in goods. The earliest issues of this money were made by overprinting French theater tickets. The scrip was rectangular and in a "stock" border carried its denomination printed in Hawaiian. Each value was of a different size, the smallest being the lowest denomination. The earliest issues evidently were printed in Honolulu.

Use of a $12\frac{1}{2}$ cent token was made necessary by the fact that $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents was the standard rate of pay for a day's work by a man. This figure, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents, was the American equivalent of the Spanish rial, a term and coin with which the Hawaiians

early became acquainted. Due to a scarcity of small change, it was a common island custom in the early days, particular on the islands other than Oahu, to cut a 25 cent piece in two, each part being called a "bit" or rial. "Two bits" of course, was a quarter.

A half day's work called for $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents pay and so later the "hapaumi" resulted. Following this same idea, a quarter day's work called for $3\frac{1}{8}$ cents, but as evidently such a small fraction was too bothersome it was disregarded in favor of a 3 cent piece. Whether $6\frac{1}{4}$ cent and 3 cent tokens ever were made use of at Koloa is not known, although it is known that they were made use of elsewhere.

This first Koloa money evidently had no legal standing, although later Ladd & Co., operator of Koloa plantation was given authority to issue scrip which was accepted by the Hawaiian treasury as legal tender in payment of "taxes and other demands." (The "other demands" were court fines.)

Hooper often was bothered by a shortage of money for paying off his laborers. On November 15, 1837, he wrote: "I am excessively annoyed for want of money; had to knock off laying bricks today, to make some." Two months later he wrote: "What shall we pay our men off with? Calico, etc., they are tired of. Can't you get up something?" Again a month later, Hooper wrote: "Trade is at a complete stand, but my paper money is still above par & in great demand & I have been obligated to make it here—hope the next arrival will bring me a supply of large money."

The expression, "large money," refers to \$5 bills that Ladd & Co. had ordered printed in Boston from engraved copper plates. The design of this bill incorporates a whaling scene. There is a possibility that Ladd & Co. also may have issued a \$3 bill.

The first script engraved in Hawaii was that put out by Charles Titcomb, operator of Mt. Pleasant silk plantation, Kauai. Mt. Pleasant plantation was commonly known by the Hawaiian name "Mauna Kilika" (Silk mountain). The lands of Mt. Pleasant plantation now form part of Koloa plantation. The Titcomb money was issued in 1843 and evidently was in but one denomination. What that denomination was is not known. The money was engraved and printed by the Rev. Lorrin Andrews of Lahainaluna, Maui.

Most of the early paper money of Hawaii was made by the Rev. Mr. Andrews or by the students of Lahainaluna school working under his direction. Much of the finer engraving was done by a Hawaiian man, not a pupil, named Kape Honi (Cape Horn), whose skill surpassed that of the Rev. Mr. Andrews.

Lahainaluna in 1844 engraved and printed scrip for the Wai-

luku female seminary, "Mr. Kellet of Hanalei, Kauai," "Mr. Bernard" and for its own use.

The Wailuku seminary money was issued by Edward J. Bailey and has a conventionalized design printed in red on heavy white paper. Just what denominations the Wailuku money comprised is not clear. The archives of Hawaii has several pieces of Wailuku money, but all only of one value, the hapaumi. Some of the archives' hapaumis are overprinted "Edward J. Bailey" in black.

Bailey, writing from Makawao in 1897, said, "I had one or two other plates engraved at the same time; one of them a 'hapaha,' some of which I stamped with black ink— $\frac{1}{8}$ —over the other print, and I used them for 'hapawalus.' The occasion of printing these notes was the difficulty of finding silver hapa-walus ($12\frac{1}{2}$ pieces) and hapaumis ($6\frac{1}{4}$ pieces), the later $\frac{1}{16}$, but called for shorter hapaumis, to pay the workmen I employed in doing work for the Wailuku female seminary, of which I was then in charge. When they had accumulated they were redeemed with silver or goods."

The Lahainaluna money comprised six values: 3 cents, $6\frac{1}{4}$ c, $12\frac{1}{2}$ c, 25c, 50c and \$1. It was printed in black on heavy white pasteboard. Each value had its own particular size and its own particular design. Kape Honi is usually credited as doing the engraving for this series.

Some of this Lahainaluna money turns up from time to time. The most recent "find" was that made by O. F. Springer, a Honolulu collector of Hawaiiana, who purchased a full set at the Ida McDonald auction sale a few years ago.

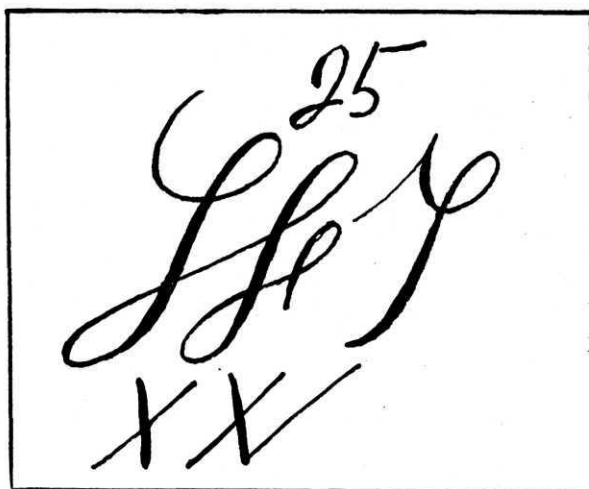
The Lahainaluna money, according to George Lecker, who wrote a history of Lahainaluna school, was in use only two years and used for transactions between school and students, evidently in order to save the school keeping a complicated set of books. The students could earn this money by doing work for or furnishing food to the school. In turn, the school would accept this money in payment for board and tuition.

Oddest of the scrip used in Hawaii was that issued in 1848 by L. L. Torbert of Maui and which led to the second counterfeiting case in the islands. Torbert "made" his own money by taking small squares of fine white tapa or india paper and writing his initials on them in ink. Each piece was worth 25 cents. In the upper right corner Torbert wrote "25," in the lower left "XXV," dovetailing the "V" with the right hand "X."

A Maui tax collector counterfeited this Torbert scrip and was hauled into court. Although the collector admitted he was guilty and although the law provided a penalty for counterfeiting, the Hawaiian magistrate in a judgement worthy of Solomon let the collector go free. The magistrate placed justice



Wailuku Female Seminary Scrip, 1844.



Torbert Money. Made from tapa or India paper.

above the law. For the magistrate ruled that the real offender was not the counterfeiter, but Torbert. The magistrate held that Torbert was the one at fault for having issued money which could be counterfeited so easily. The court ordered Torbert to call in all his money and not issue any more unless it were printed.

Use of tapa instead of paper for currency is not unreasonable. About 1840 a suggestion was made and seriously considered that the United States use tapa instead of paper for its currency. One of the arguments in favor of tapa was that it would make counterfeiting particularly difficult as for the average counterfeiter it is not so easily obtainable as "silk" paper. Sample tapa bills were made at Lahainaluna for the United States treasury department and sent to Washington. Nothing, however, came of the proposal.

The wide variety of foreign coins in use in Hawaii prior to 1883 is shown in a handbill published by the Polynesian (government) Press in 1848 "showing the comparative intrinsic value of some of the principal coins current in the Hawaiian islands or that may be offered in exchange." The list includes 53 gold coins, 103 silver coins, Russian and Spanish coins being the most numerous. Twenty-five Russian silver coins are enumerated.

One of the odd features of the list is its mention of two Japanese gold coins, the "old" ko-ban (small coin) and the "new" ko-ban. The list refers to them as "copangs." The Japanese copangs or ko-bans and other foreign gold and silver coins were made legal tender in Hawaii under the money act of 1845-47. As there were only four Japanese, all cast-aways, in Honolulu in 1848, and as it was not until 1854 that Japan was opened to the rest of the world by Commodore Perry, the only conclusion which can be reached is that the coins came to Hawaii by way of the Dutch, the only western people who had been allowed trade privileges in Japan prior to 1854. Confirmation of this conclusion is indicated in the table by its reference to two coins of the Dutch East India Co., its gold mohur of 1783 and its silver guilder.

Amongst the odd gold coins mentioned in this table as being "current" in Hawaii are the Bengal mohur (Sicca), Bombay rupee, Bombay mohur, Madras rupee of 1818, Pagoda star, Saik Sai (a Mahratta coin), Hamburg ducat and the Danish Christian d'or. Unusual silver coins in the list are the Bengal Sicca rupee, Bombay surat, Madras surat, Bremen 48 groat piece, Austria rix dollar, Brazil patacu (old, 640 reis), Prussia florin (Elector of Brandenburg), Portugal "new" cruado of 1690 and the French "Ecu of 6 livres."

In the latter half of the 19th century several firms issued trade tokens which are believed to have passed as currency in their localities. These tokens were redeemed by the issuers in various ways—in coin, services or merchandise.

John Thomas Waterhouse, Honolulu merchant, in 1862 issued a "white metal" token bearing a portrait of Kamehameha IV on the obverse and a "beehive" on the reverse, with the words "John Thomas Waterhouse, Importer," around, and "Hale Maikai" (good house) below the "beehive." This token, about the size of a silver dollar, was redeemed by Mr. Waterhouse in 50 cents worth of merchandise.

In 1871 Wailuku plantation, Maui, issued 6 cent to 12½ cent copper tokens. The obverse has the value with "W. P." above. The reverse bears a star with "H. I." above and small stars around. Wailuku in 1880 issued ½ rial and 1 rial copper tokens.

In 1882 Haiku plantation, Maui, issued a 1 rial copper token. The obverse has the word "Haiku" in the center, 1882 below, flanked by palm trees.

Grove Ranch plantation, Kauai, in 1886 issued a 12½ cent copper token bearing the letters "G. R. P." and "1886" on the obverse, with ornaments and "12½" on the reverse. In 1887 Grove Ranch issued a similar token except for the change in the date.

In 1891, the Kahului Railroad Co., Ltd., Maui, issued brass tokens, of about the size of a 25 cent piece, of the values of 10, 15, 20, 25, 35, 75 cents, and possibly others.

Capt. Thomas H. Hobron issued in 1879 a 12½ cent copper token bearing the initials "T. H. H." and "12½" on the obverse. In the same year he also issued a 2½ cent copper token, intended also for use on the Kahului railroad.

It is reported that Capt. Willfong issued an oblong copper token.

The first money issued by the Hawaiian government was the hapa haneri (100th part) of 1847. These copper coins bore the head of Kamehameha III and \$1,000 worth was issued. They were accepted in payment of taxes at the rate of 100 to the American dollar, which gave them a value of 1 cent. There are four "die varieties." It is believed they were minted in Philadelphia, Pa.

Although the laws of 1846 provided that the currency of Hawaii should be based on American money, no provision was made for the use of dimes and so as they were not current they were practically valueless in Hawaii for many years. The only way those who had accepted American dimes could redeem them at anywhere near their proper value was by shipping them back to the United States. Dimes and nickels continued to be practi-

cally worthless in Hawaii until 1859 when a law was passed making "American dimes and nickels current coin of the kingdom."

When King Kalakaua made his trip around the world in 1881, he was approached in Vienna, Austria, by officials representing the French and Belgian mints regarding a national coinage for Hawaii. By Kalakaua's order several hundred "5 keneta" pieces were struck in nickel and/or aluminum. The obverse bore a portrait of Kalakaua with the words "King of Sandwich Islands," and the date 1881. The reverse bore a garter surmounted by a crown enclosing the figure "5" with the Hawaiian motto, "Ua Mau Ke Ea o Ka Aina i Ka Pono." By mistake of the engravers "Au," was substituted in place of "Ua." The coins were not popular in Hawaii and many were destroyed, the remainder being distributed as souvenirs among the king's friends.

It was in 1883 that Hawaii issued its first silver coinage, the issue totaling \$1,000,000. Minted in San Francisco, the coins were issued in the following amounts: dimes, \$25,000; quarters, \$125,000; half dollars, \$350,000; dollars, \$500,000. The silver coinage was hardly in circulation before it began to depreciate. Within six months banks were charging $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for exchange in American money. Writing in 1884, A. F. Judd charged that "the Kalakaua silver is more for making change—it was made intentionally of far less intrinsic value than its nominal value in order that it may stay in circulation."

About the same time the silver was issued, Hawaii issued its first national treasury bills. These were technically "silver certificates." Four denominations are known: \$10, \$20, \$50 and \$100.

When Queen Liliuokalani ascended the throne in 1891 a pattern silver dollar was made in England by R. Huth. A pattern is a suggested design which may or may not be adopted. The obverse showed a bust of Liliuokalani. Fifty specimens were struck in pure silver. At the same time Mr. Huth struck four \$20 gold patterns having the same obverse as the silver dollar. After the monarchy was overthrown in 1893, Mr. Huth produced several Kaiulani pattern dollars. The obverse shows a bust of Princess Kaiulani with either one or four dolphins, with the Latin inscription "Caiulania Liliuocalanie Reginae Sororis Filia."

The last Hawaiian money comprised three series of bills issued by the republic in 1895. All were printed by the American Banknote Co. Although the engraving is of the finest, some of the designs seem ridiculous and appear to have been borrowed from bills made for South American countries. Series A and C comprised silver certificates, Series B gold certificates. With the exception of Series A in which the \$5 bill is not known, the

issues comprised the following values : \$5, \$10, \$20, \$50 and \$100.

The check list which follows is the first of its kind for Hawaii, I believe, and lists about 90 varieties of "money" designed for use in the Hawaiian islands. I wish to emphasize that this is a preliminary check list and undoubtedly will be subject to future review and changes as more material on the subject comes to light. Corrections and additions from readers will be appreciated by the compiler.



\$50 silver certificate of deposit of the Republic of Hawaii.

A PRELIMINARY CHECK LIST OF HAWAIIAN CURRENCY, COINS, PATTERNS, SCRIP AND TOKENS

Compiled by

DONALD BILLAM-WALKER

April, 1940

CURRENCY

Check List No.

c. 1883 Kalakaua, silver certificates.

1. \$10.
2. \$20.
3. \$50.
4. \$100.

1895 Republic, series A, silver certificates.

11. \$10.
12. \$20.
13. \$50.
14. \$100.

1895 Republic, series B, gold certificates.

21. \$5.
22. \$10.
23. \$20.
24. \$50.
25. \$100.

1895 Republic, series C, silver certificates.

31. \$5.
32. \$10.
33. \$20.
34. \$50.
35. \$100.

COINS

1847, Kamehameha III.

101. 1¢ (Hapa Haneri) 1.10 copper. Obv. Front face bust of Kam. III in uniform. Ins. Kamehameha III Kamoi. In ex. 1847. Rev. ins. (inside wreath) Hapa Haneri Aupuni Hawaii. Believed minted in Philadelphia, Pa.
 - A. Die variety I.
 - B. " " II.
 - C. " " III.
 - D. " " IV.

1883, Kalakaua.

102. 10¢ .73 silver. Obv., profile of king, head to r. Ins., Kalakaua I, King of Hawaii 1883. Rev., Arms of Hawaii under canopy and crown; Ins. Hawaii's motto. ONE DIME inside a wreath with crown at top and bottom UMI KENETA.
103. 25¢ .96 silver. Same as 10¢ except for value, HAPAHA (canopy omitted).
104. 50¢ 1.22 silver. Same as 10¢ except for value, HAPALUA (canopy omitted).
105. \$1 1.50 silver. Same as 10¢ except for value, AKAHI DALA.

PATTERNS

c. 1840, Kamehameha III, Hawaii and/or U. S.

201. Sample tapa bills made at Lahainaluna, Maui, for U.S. treasury department. Denomination or denominations unknown. 1881, Kalakaua.
202. 5¢ .75 aluminum. Obv., profile head of king, to l. Ins., KALAKAUA KING OF SANDWICH ISLANDS 1881. Rev. oval band with crown at top and large 5 in center. Ins. on band, AU MAU KE EA O KA AINA I KA PONO. (First word mis-spelled; should have read UA, not AU).

1891, Liliuokalani.

203. \$1, 1.45 silver. (50 specimens struck by R. Huth of England in pure silver). Obv., profile bust of Liliuokalani to l. Ins., Liliuokalani dei Gratia. Rev. Chart of Hawaiian Islands, but with the name HONOLULU omitted. Ins. HAWAIIAN REGINA 1891 AKAHI DALA.
204. \$20, 1.5 gold. Obv., bust of Liliuokalani to l. Ins., round edge Liliuokalani dei Gratia. Rev., crossed kapu staves in center. Above Hawaiian crown. Below taro leaves. Ins., 20 DALA 1893. At top HAWAIRVM REGINA. (4 specimens struck by Huth in gold).

- 1893, Kaiulani.
205. \$1, 1.45 silver. Obv., profile head to r. One dolphin in field. Ins., CAIULANIA LILIUOCALANIAE REGINAE SORORIS FILIA. Rev., eight Hawaiian Islands—chart, with HONOLULU named. Ins., SPES PUBLICA OCT. 16, 1893.
206. \$1, 1.45. silver. Obv. bust of Kaiulani surrounded by four dolphins with ins. CAIULANIA LILIUOCALANIE REGINAE SORORIS FILIA. Rev., Hemisphere and SPES PUBLICA OCT. XVI. MDCCCXCIII.
207. \$1, 1.45 silver. Design same as 206 but with rounded margins.
208. \$1, 1.45 iron. Design same as 206. Very Rare.

SCRIP

- 1836, "Koloa money," Ladd & Co., printed pasteboard (earliest issues on back of French theater tickets).
301. 12½¢, HAPAWALU.
302. 25¢, HAPAHA.
303. 50¢, HAPALUA.
- c. 1838 "Koloa money," Ladd & Co.
304. \$3 bill (issuance uncertain—presumably printed in Boston, Mass.)
305. \$5 (whaling scene). Bill printed in Boston from engraved copper plate.
- 1843, "Titcomb money," Mt. Pleasant Plantation, Koloa, Kauai.
306. ——— Demonination unknown; evidently only one denomination. Engraved and printed by the Rev. Lorrin Andrews at Lahainaluna, Maui.
- 1844, "Kellett money," Hanalei, Kauai.
307. ——— Denomination unknown. Engraved and printed at Lahainaluna.
- 1844, "Bernard money."
308. ——— Demonination unknown. Engraved and printed at Lahainaluna.
- 1844, Wailuku Female seminary, conventionalized design—printed red on heavy white paper.
309. 6¼¢, Hapaumi (1/16th dollar).
310. 6¼¢, Same as 309 except overprinted in black: Edward J. Bailey.
311. 12½¢, Hapawalu (1/8 th dollar). Same as 309 except overprinted in black: 1/8.
312. 25¢, Hapaha (1/4 th dollar).
- 1844, "Lahainaluna (school) money." Engravings printed in black on heavy white pasteboard. Each value has own particular design, size. Lowest value smallest in size, sizes ranging larger proportionate to value.
313. 3¢.
314. 6¼¢
315. 12½¢.
316. 25¢.
317. 50¢.
318. \$1 (map of Hawaiian Islands).

- 1848, "Torbert money," issued by L. L. Torbert of Maui. Counterfeit varieties may still exist.
319. 25¢. Initials LL T, 25 and XXV written by pen in black ink on small squares of fine white tapa and/or India paper.
- (Compiler's note: Scrip was issued in Hawaii during 1932 "bank holiday," but is omitted from this check list on the ground that such properly comes under United States listing.)
- (Although unlisted, many plantations now issue "store" scrip.)

TOKENS

Undated.

401. — Liberty Bakery. 1 1/5 aluminum. Obv., round edge. Ins., Good for one loaf of bread. In center, Direct from oven to you. Rev., Portuguese republic coat of arms. Ins., Liberty Bakery, Luzo (Luso) & Capt. Cooke (Cook) Ave.
402. 5¢. Love's Bakery. 1.13 aluminum. Obv. ins., Love's Biscuit & Bread Co., Honolulu, T. H. Rev. ins., Good for 5¢ in Bread Trade.
403. 25¢. Ft. Armstrong Post Exchange. 1.1 brass. Obv., center, Fort Armstrong. Rev., Good for 25¢ in trade.
- (Note: Although unlisted, numerous schools of the Territory have issued cafeteria tokens.)
- c. 1847 (issuer unknown).
404. — Demonination not known; trade button. 7/8 white metal. Full face portrait Kamehameha III Ka Moi. Underneath 1847 (copied from Hapa Haneri).
- 1862, John Thomas Waterhouse.
405. 50¢, 1.37 pewter (milled). Obv., bust of Kam. IV. Rev., beehive with ins.
- 1871, Wailuku Plantation.
406. 6¢, .75 copper. Obv., W. P. VI surrounded by 8 six-pointed stars. Rev. H. I. five-pointed star underneath, surrounded by 10 six-pointed stars. Milled edge.
407. 12 1/2 ¢, .9 copper. Obv., WP underneath 12 1/2, 1871; round edge 6 six-pointed stars. Rev., H.I. star in center; round edge 10 six-pointed stars. Milled.
- 1875, Kahului Railway (Capt. Thomas H. Hobron).
408. 2 1/2 ¢, .85 copper. Obv. ins., T.H.H., 2 1/2 ¢. Rev. ins., R.R.—1879.
409. 12 1/2 ¢, copper. Obv. T.H.H. 12 1/2.
410. 25¢, 1. copper. Obv. T.H.H. underneath 25 surrounded by ornaments. Rev., R.R. underneath 1879 surrounded by ornaments.
- c. 1880, Capt. Willfong.
411. — Denomination unknown. Oblong, copper. Tentative listing.
- 1880, Wailuku plantation.
412. 1/2 rial, .75 copper. Obv., W.P. 1880 surrounded by wreath. Rev., Half Real.
413. 1 rial (12 1/2 ¢), 10/16 copper. Obv., W.P. 1880 surrounded by 9 five-pointed stars. Rev., 1 RL. milled.

1882, Haiku Plantation.

414. 1 rial, .9 copper. Milled. Obv., Haiku in center, 1882 below, flanked by sugar cane plants. Rev., Rayed star, One Rial.

1886, Grove Ranch Plantation.

415. $12\frac{1}{2}$ ¢, 4/5 copper. Obv., G.R.P., 1886 with ornaments, star above and below. Rev., $12\frac{1}{2}$, star above and below.

1887, Grove Ranch Plantation.

416. $12\frac{1}{2}$ ¢. Same as 415 except for date, 1887.

c. 1890 (issuer unknown).

417. — Trade button. $1\frac{1}{16}$ white metal. Kaiulani head to l. Ins. above ALOHA PUMAHANA, below KAIULANI.

1891, Kahului Railroad Co.

Obv., in center KAHULUI, MAUI, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS. On margin THE KAHULUI RAILROAD CO., LTD., 1891. Rev., in center, GOOD FOR (numeral of value) ¢; round margin THE KAHULUI RAILROAD CO., LTD.

All brass; 15¢ is $1\frac{1}{20}$, milled edge.

418. 10¢.
419. 15¢.
420. 20¢.
421. 25¢, $1\frac{1}{10}$.
422. 35¢.
423. 75¢.

Pre-Prohibition, Undated.

424. — $1\frac{1}{10}$ aluminum or white metal. Beehive saloon (Honolulu). Obv., at top H. A. Juen in center beehive. Rev., Rainier beer. Hole in center.
425. — 1. brass. Commercial saloon, Honolulu. Obv. ins., Commercial Saloon, Honolulu (and fleur-de-lis). Rev. ins., National Brewing Co., San Francisco. Good for 1 glass beer.
426. — Commercial saloon, Honolulu. Obv., same as 425. Rev., John Wieland Brewery, San Francisco.
427. — 1. brass. Empire saloon (Honolulu).
428. — $1\frac{1}{10}$ white metal. Fountain saloon (Honolulu—H. A. Juen). Rev., Rainier beer.
429. — $1\frac{1}{4}$ pewter. Obv., Hawaiian hotel, Honolulu. Rev., Good for one glass of beer.
430. — $1\frac{1}{10}$ copper or brass. Pantheon saloon (Honolulu). Ins., Good for one draught of beer. Rev., Enterprise Brewing Co., Honolulu; in center, Jim Dodd, agent.
431. — $1\frac{1}{10}$ white metal. Pantheon saloon, Honolulu. Rev. Rainier beer. Seattle.
432. — $1/10$ brass. Ryan (Paddy) and Dement (Charles), Honolulu. Rev., Good for 1 draught of beer.
- 1923, Honolulu Rapid Transit.
433. — Obv. ins., Honolulu Rapid Transit Co., Ltd., 1923. Rev. ins., Good for one half-fare to & from school.

1924, Honolulu Rapid Transit.

434. — .63 nickel. Pierced 6 holes. Ob. ins., Honolulu Rapid Transit Co., Ltd., 1924. Rev. ins., Good for one full fare.

July, 1935, Rosecrans.

435. — .63 nickel. Pierced; Block R center. Obv., Rosecrans U-Drive, Ltd. Rev., Good for one full fare. Issue of 10,000. Another 10,000 issued December, 1935.

May, 1936, Rosecrans.

436. — .63 nickel. Pierced; Block R. center. Obv., Rosecrans U-Drive, Ltd., Honolulu. Rev., Good for one fare. Issue of 10,000. Other issues of 10,00 each May, 1937; June, 1938; August, 1939.



Grove Ranch Plantation. 12½ cent copper token. 1886.

Geographic Factors in Early Sheep Husbandry in the Hawaiian Islands (1791-1870)¹

ALFRED L. LOMAX

Professor of Business Administration, University of Oregon
Visiting Professor of Geography, University of Hawaii, 1938-1939

Introduction.

The inhabited part of the Hawaiian Islands lies in mid-Pacific Ocean, approximately between nineteen and twenty-two degrees, north latitude, and one hundred fifty-four and one hundred sixty degrees west longitude. They are approximately 2100 miles from San Francisco, over 4700 miles from Panama, and 3400 miles from Yokohama. The probability of discovery was, therefore, reduced to a minimum in view of their distance from the continents and the practice of exploring expeditions and traders to hug those shorelines. The Polynesian aborigines who inhabited the archipelago were thus left to enjoy their insularity unmolested by inquisitive representatives of imperialistic European powers. The pulsations of a rapidly colonizing world did not disturb the islands' tropical tranquility until after their discovery in 1778 by Captain James Cook of the British navy.

From that time forward the entire economy, social life and culture of the islanders underwent a change. To be sure, the metamorphosis was not sudden and the old ways of living continued far into the succeeding decades, albeit at a declining rate, but this British naval officer may be said to have made the first impression by the western world upon this people whose cultural horizon did not extend beyond the Upper Neolithic age. Within the next fifty years a whole train of explorers, traders, missionaries, world travelers and settlers came to the archipelago. These brought metal tools and equipment, livestock and poultry, new skills and new words to supplement and later displace the stone grinding implements, thatched huts and the simple, expressive native language. In substance, the Hawaiian economic system based upon work in the *taro* or *kalo* patch, the forest and the sea and administered by a feudalistic land-holding nobility, slowly succumbed to the persistent industrial and commercial pressures of Europe and America.

¹ Grateful acknowledgment is made to Miss Maude Jones, Public Archivist, and staff for their assistance in the preparation of this paper; also to the librarians of the Library of Hawaii (Hawaiian section), the University of Hawaii, the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library; and to Judge F. W. Howay, New Westminster, B.C., for reference to the various expeditionary journals.

Exploratory period.

It remained for Captain Cook to initiate the livestock movement in Hawaii by leaving goats on the little island of Niihau². Captain James Colnett, exploring in the Pacific, stopped at Atui or Kauai in 1791, where he says, "I also left my remaining livestock consisting of a ram and two ewes . . . and at Owhyee (Hawaii) I left a ram, two ewes . . ." In February of the same year he continues: "I put the remaining stock intended for the Sandwich Isles on shore (at Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island) consisting of three hen turkeys, a he-goat, a bull, two lambs and three ewes." And again, while at Nootka he makes an entry in his journal March 1, 1791, that he "Took on board the livestock for the Sandwich Isles that I put on shore; the commander having lost all his he-goats I left him mine and in return he gave me a forlorn cock turkey; the bull died a few days after I landed it." Since California had been visited by Colnett, it may be assumed that the livestock came from that then Spanish possession.³

Another Britisher who had been exploring along the North West American coast was Captain George Vancouver, who decided to revisit the Sandwich Islands upon his return to California. In February, 1793, he arrived at the island of Hawaii to replenish the supply of inferior hay loaded at Monterey for the half-starved cattle and sheep on board the *Discovery*. As a result of the bad fodder, three rams, two ewes, a bull and a cow died on the voyage across. The remaining livestock consisting of five cows, two ewes and a ram were loaded into canoes under the supervision of Kamehameha I, and landed at Kealahou Bay. A few days later he gave to Keeaumoku a ram, two ewes and an ewe lamb born on the ship.⁴ Archibald Menzies, surgeon on the *Discovery* says in his journal that the four sheep of the California breed were given to the father-in-law of Kamehameha and he believes that if the sheep are cared for properly they will soon stock the island.⁵

Thomas Manby, lieutenant with the expedition, states in his journal:

"The first week in January 1793 we were ready for the sea; the *Discovery* took on board four cows and two bulls for the Sandwich Islands with a few sheep. Sheep by no means thrive so well in California as cattle; it was rare to see one with the kidneys covered with fat, altho' the oxen were in excellent condition."

On March 4th he records that they were at "Karakakasiah Bay"

² R. S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854* (1938), p. 14.

³ J. Colnett, Journal, photostatic copy in Public Archives, Honolulu.

⁴ *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean . . .* (London, 1801 edition) Vols. III and V.

⁵ *Hawaii Nei 128 Years Ago*, edited by W. F. Wilson (1920), p. 158.

[Kealakekua] and that the cows were sent northward in canoes to better pasture, but makes no mention of any more sheep.⁶

On January 15, 1794, Vancouver presented five rams and five ewes from California to King Kamehameha at Kealakekua. He found that the animals left the previous year had done well. Approximately sixty years later, Stephen Reynolds virtually disputed the latter statement in an address before the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society by saying: "Dogs killed the ewes a few days after they were landed."⁷ The Captain continues:

"I had little doubt, by this second importation, of having at length effected the very desirable object of establishing in this island a breed of those valuable animals."

Most of the livestock was placed on the Waimea plains. Vancouver writes:

"In this valley is a great tract of luxuriant, natural pasture whither all the cattle and sheep imported by me were to be driven, there to roam unrestrained, to 'increase and multiply' far from the sight of strangers."

He continues that he had left with Enemo, one of the chiefs, the breeding sheep he had intended to give two other chiefs, and instructed the first named to distribute the animals to the other islands and under the same conditions as previously stipulated.⁸

One is justified in interjecting a query here as to Vancouver's motives in undertaking to transport a few head of troublesome livestock from California to a primitive, insular people. Was he visualizing the time when the archipelago would have use as a revictualling station for the empire-questing ships of Britain? Or, may he be compared to Marcus Whitman in Oregon half a century later, laboring to convince the Indians of the benefits of a pastoral existence? If the Hawaiians could be taught the value of peaceable pursuits, perhaps they could be diverted from planning bloody and cruel inter-island wars. Any tendency for primitive instincts to assert themselves would thus be diverted, benefit the islanders, and incidentally make the place safer for visiting ships. A clue is found to his motives at the time some of the animals died due to poor feed, when Vancouver ruefully remarked:

"These were serious misfortunes and in great measure disappointed the hopes I had entertained from the importation of these valuable animals into the several islands of the Pacific Ocean."⁹

Evidently he entertained serious plans for stocking the Hawaiian archipelago and possibly other Polynesian islands lying to the south.

⁶ *The Honolulu Mercury*, June, July, August, 1929; also photostatic copy in Public Archives.

⁷ *Transactions of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society*, 1850, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 51.

⁸ Vancouver, *op. cit.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

To further this plan, if plan it was, the socially-minded sea captain asked Kamehameha to place a *tabu* on livestock for a ten year period in order that the animals might propagate to the eventual advantage of all the people, which in this case also meant women, who were under the strictest food proscriptions. Vancouver thus deliberately attempted to initiate a new economic order for the natives and at the same time to break one of their strongest social and religious customs, the *tabu*.

In the decade following Vancouver's visits, the islands became well known to European and American mariners. Among the former may be mentioned Urey Lisiansky, a captain in the Russian navy, who, upon seeing the unpromising Hawaii coast in June, 1804, exclaimed doubtfully concerning its productivity but corroborated Vancouver's estimate of the fertility of the interior; and, although he mentions the abundance of swine, goats, and fowls and deplores the devastations by the wild cattle from Vancouver's donations, nothing is said about sheep.¹⁰

Meares, Metcalfe, Portlock, Kendrick, Brown and others were followed by lesser lights in exploring and fur trading, but they, unlike their illustrious predecessors, made few economic contributions to the life of the Hawaiians, although the islands became a regular port of call for purposes of revictualling and rewatering. Said Robert C. Wyllie in the aforementioned address:

"I have been able to find no record of any introduction of seeds, plants, or animals by them . . . it is fair to presume that several from their own benevolence, or at the request of resident foreigners, had made large additions to the seeds and plants and animals at the time on the Islands."¹¹

In the latter category may be placed the Portlock contribution of melon seeds indicated in the Manby journal.

Reference to a number of accounts of world voyages made in the early 1800's reveals the fact that no wanderer who called at the islands ever went hungry. All of the chroniclers are unanimous on that point. Archibald Campbell states:

"We had, however, at all times abundance of pork, goats flesh, and mutton, and frequently beef sent by Young (governor of Owhyee), and in the mornings and evenings we had tea."¹²

The Big Island was not alone in its ability to produce, for Peter Corney remarks that the island of Woahoo (Oahu) was by far the most important one of the group, with good harbors and excellent water, as well as being in a high state of cultivation with cattle, hogs, sheep, goats, horses, fruits and vegetables.

¹⁰ *A Voyage Round the World . . . in the Ship Neva* (London, 1814).

¹¹ *Transactions of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society, op. cit.*

¹² *A Voyage Round the World, from 1806 to 1812* (New York, 1819).

During the time he was on Oahu he was a part-time guest of Don Francisco de Paula Marin, or Manini, as he was more familiarly called by his fellow settlers. Marin made many contributions to the agricultural life of Hawaii, being responsible for introducing several kinds of fruits and vegetables which grow in abundance throughout the islands today. He was constantly experimenting with these in an effort to adapt them to the modified tropical environment of Oahu. He had cattle, but no sheep. On a trip around the island with Marin, Corney reveals that the islands had plenty of poultry and livestock including sheep.¹³

The Missionary Period—Sheep Husbandry Begun.

This era in the islands' history opened in 1820. One is impressed with the spiritual zeal with which these earnest people entered their new environment in the Lord's work; he is no less intrigued with the spirit of adventure which animated some of their number. One such was the Reverend William Ellis assigned to the South Seas field by the London Missionary Society but who, after visiting the Hawaiian archipelago, was so impressed with its spiritual and material possibilities that he returned to the more northerly field from his station in Tahiti. He saw:

"... large herds of cattle in Hawaii . . . together with . . . a few horses and sheep, which have been taken there at different times, principally from the adjacent continent of America . . . Horses, cattle, and goats thrive well, but the climate appears too warm for sheep, unless they are kept on the mountains, which in consequence of the keenness of the air, are seldom inhabited by the natives."

On the slopes of Mauna Kea, Ellis found eight or ten dead sheep which had been chased there by the half wild dogs owned by the natives. He says, "I have heard that there are many wild dogs, sheep, and goats."¹⁴ Tyerman and Bennet, who had visited the Islands with Ellis in 1822, observed that there were few animals in Hawaii but that they included horses, cows, sheep, goats and cats.^{14a} Even a runaway slave, Anthony Allen, at Waikiki, was found by the missionaries to be the owner of flocks and herds.¹⁵

When Lord Byron visited Honolulu in 1824-25 in the *Blonde*, Andrew Bloxam, the naturalist, observed that sheep, fowls, ducks, turkeys, geese and pigeons were as common in the mid-Pacific as in any English farmyard. Eleven years later, John K. Townsend, who had traversed the North American

¹³ *Voyages in the Northern Pacific.*

¹⁴ *A Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii . . .* (1917 ed.) pp. 33, 304.

^{14a} Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, *Journal of Voyages and Travels.* (1831), Vol. 1, p. 434.

¹⁵ *Missionary Herald*, Vol. XVII, No. 5 (May 1821), p. 141.

continent to the Pacific, sailed on a ship belonging to the Columbia River Trading Company, for Honolulu, where a cargo of livestock was taken on board, including pigs and goats, presumably for food. Sheep were not mentioned in this narrative, nor are they in other similar accounts. It may be assumed that they could not make as great a contribution to the welfare of the crew as pigs and goats which were decidedly utilitarian on a long voyage, the one as a producer of fine roasts and spare-ribs, and the other of delicious, wholesome milk. The Columbia Trading Company was organized by Nathaniel J. Wyeth, a New England business man, who attempted to build a town on Sauve's Island in the mouth of the Willamette river, Oregon, near Fort Vancouver on the Columbia river. During the winter of 1835, the *May Dacre*, Wyeth's ship, went to the Hawaiian Islands with timber and returned in the spring with cattle, sheep, goats and hogs, which were turned loose on the aforesaid island and allowed to roam at will. Reference to sheep from Hawaii is also made in a letter from Dr. Marcus Whitman, Congregational missionary in the Oregon country stationed near what is now the city of Walla Walla, Washington, to Levi Chamberlain, a missionary in the Islands, under date of October, 1835, stating that five of the six sheep ordered had arrived safely. These are the only references to sheep moving out of the Hawaiian Islands to Oregon insofar as the scope of this research is concerned.

Although the missionaries came with the avowed purpose of preaching the gospel, their influence was felt in the material improvement of the Islands no less than in the spiritual. Habits of industry accompanied those of a religious nature. Furthermore, there was a constant influx of new settlers, some good, some bad, but withal, individuals who were willing to work to improve both themselves and an erstwhile aboriginal environment. The Hawaiian nobility which ruled the island kingdom was competently advised by white counsellors, both missionaries and laymen acting in a joint capacity, and whose wise judgments and unswerving loyalty to the crown brought the little nation through many a difficult situation. One of these was the transition of land tenure from a feudal system into the present system of land titles. Some of the foreigners thought they owned their land outright, not realizing they were tenants-at-will. Much confusion resulted and it was not until the king and chiefs in 1848 voluntarily surrendered their claims to a third of the land that foreigners and the common people were able to own property in fee simple.

When land could be obtained, some agricultural enterprises were started. One such, known as "Koolau Plantation," was

located just over the Pali a few miles from Honolulu. Piikoi, William Harbottle and some other young Hawaiians had leased two thousand acres, including some mountain land, from the government for fifty-five years. It is believed that this was one of the earliest leases in the Islands. By experimentation they found the land too dry for sugar so turned to livestock, although the record is not clear how successful the enterprise became. The editor of *The Polynesian*, early Honolulu newspaper, nevertheless comments on the project: "We should suppose that it was admirably calculated for sheep, the mountain peaks affording them a cool retreat and valleys abundance of water," and further remarked that sheep had always been a source of great wealth to New Holland and wondered why they could not become so here.¹⁶

Commander Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition (ca. 1840) speaking of the Ewa vicinity, said: "This is the best part of the island of Oahu for raising cattle and sheep, which are seen here in greater numbers than elsewhere."¹⁷ The section referred to is in the southwestern part of the island. It is a large, open coral plain surrounding Pearl Harbor and adjacent to that area lying between the Koolau and the Waianae ranges. This area affords plenty of pasture land and water, although having but from one fourth to one third as much precipitation as the windward side.

This part of the island of Oahu resembles in its general characteristics¹⁸ the environment of the Mediterranean lands where some of the finest breeds of sheep have originated. The semi-arid summer conditions of Northern Africa and the increased precipitation of winter find their counterpart on the leeward side of this and the other islands where mountain masses intercept the northeast trade winds.

It is not surprising that the early sheep raisers pastured their flocks on such land, since at that time it was not in demand as it is at present for large scale sugar cane and pineapple production.

The fact that sheep prospered on the Ewa side of Oahu is illustrative of the principle in land utilization for livestock, that the best lands supporting the most luxuriant and nutritious grasses go to cattle; the sparse, semi-arid areas to sheep; and where the latter cannot live, the hardy goat can. There appears never to have been any of the severe competition in the islands between sheep and cattle interests which has characterized the

¹⁶ *Polynesian*, October 3, 1840.

¹⁷ Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* (1845), Vol. IV, p. 81.

¹⁸ John Wesley Coulter, *Land Utilization in the Hawaiian Islands* (University of Hawaii Research Publications, No. 8, 1933).

livestock industry of the western states, probably due to the fact that neither sheep nor cattle were ever numerous enough in proportion to the land available to create an economic problem. In later years, livestock operations were directed almost entirely toward the production of beef cattle and that largely in the hands of a single family.

A more intimate picture of the geography of the islands was published in 1847. The author stated that the aforementioned plains are composed in part of cinders and ashes, and when dry are frequently whipped into dust clouds under the force of the constant trade wind. In winter, when showers occur, the formerly semi-arid areas are covered with a coarse grass suitable for cattle.¹⁹

The soil generally, continues the historian, comprises a mixture of decomposed volcanic rocks, sand, mud and ashes, and requires constant irrigation. The valley soils, which represent an accumulation of vegetable matter, are productive, but limited. The soil as a whole is poor and better adapted to grazing than to agriculture. "Nature yields but little spontaneously, and the inhabitants have always been obliged to exercise much industry and ingenuity in their farms." Later comment is to the effect that "The mean heat of these islands approaches near to it [i.e. the temperature best suited for living], and is highly favorable to the full development and perfection of animal economy."²⁰

We come to the year 1845. The interim from 1840 may be presumed to have been filled with efforts directed toward the permanent establishment of livestock. Not the least of these enterprisers was the government, which owned flocks of sheep on the various islands. Kauai supported a flock of 180, which though small was important enough for lengthy correspondence between the Minister of the Interior, Dr. G. P. Judd, and the shepherd in charge, quoted in full here because it throws an intimate light both upon the condition in the industry on this island and the character of one of the molders of Hawaii's future.²¹

Koulou, Kauai, 23 May 1845.

Honble Sir,

I beg pardon for addressing you on the subject of a renewal of the agreement for my taking care of the government sheep for another year, and as the Governess of this Island has expressed a wish for me to have the other part of the flock, (which I hear are rapidly dying) because those under my charge have thrive well and only one has died since I have had them in charge. I suppose I have had about 20 increase while the most part are Rams and out of 180 I have only had 120 since last March in my care and

¹⁹ James Jackson Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian Islands* (3rd edition, Honolulu, 1847), p. 10.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

²¹ Correspondence quoted from Interior Department Letterbook No. 1 in Public Archives.

the other 60 since the 1st of last September—thus Sir this being the first year I have laboured under some inconvenience and that piece of girthing that I sent to you is nearly all I have made from the sheep as I employ the most of my time looking after them—and the place is far more healthy than Waimea. Therefore Sir I hope you will consent to my having the sheep one or more years for the wool and a portion of the increase and if you think the wool made into girthing will sell in Honolulu I can afford to sell that for 50 cents per yard by the roll but as yet I cannot do much because my leg was broke—broke riding after the sheep.

I wish to do as well as I can for the Govt. but as I am a poor man I require some help from the Govt.—and through your great kindness I may succeed in getting a living although a cripple in my leg for life. The sheep at Waimea is constantly dying and myself and Poonaei counted 11 dead at one time. There are too many dogs there and it is my belief the dogs kill the sheep for there has been only one increase there while I have had 20—if you wish I will take care of the whole flock was it not for your agreement I would have fetched them before this. Humbly awaiting your reply

I beg to subscribe myself

Your obedient servant

Joseph Gardner

Dr. G. P. Judd,
Treasury Board

Honolulu, 31st May 1845.

Sir,

I hereby extend the agreement in regard to the sheep as long as I see fit, and have written to Kanoa to deliver the remainder of the flock to you, after sending one cargo to Oahu. It will rest with him however, to do the business with you.

I also permit you to kill for the use of your family, one Ram a month until such times as the number of rams is decreased to a reasonable number.

The girthing you sent up I requested Mr. Boyd to take and sell. He has it. I gave him 2 dozen Buckles and I understand he has had one dozen girths made for sale. But I have not had time to attend to it myself.

Your's

G. P. Judd

Mr. Joseph Gardner,
Koulou, Kauai.

Sheep husbandry in the archipelago received some impetus in 1845 with the importation by William French of rams to add to his flock on Hawaii. No mention is made of the breed of the animals or where he obtained them. Little attention was given to the production of wool for export as indicated in the annual report of the Minister of the Interior for the above year, but he points out the possibility of sheep husbandry, particularly if the breeds were improved, and states that both sheep and goats would fit nicely into a small farm program. French's imported animals marked the beginning of flock improvement. There was available a great deal of waste pasture but its use was prevented by the interference of the headmen, even at this late date. Four years later a small shipment of wool, 98 bags or

873 pounds valued at five cents a pound, was made from Kawaihae, shipping point for Waimea on Hawaii. Also the same year 170 sheep were moved from Lahaina, Maui, to California. This must have been an incidental shipment, for port statistics reveal that sugar was the important export item from this point, with pumpkins, lumber, Irish potatoes and pineapples following. In 1849, 1000 pounds of wool at 12½c per pound, 17,403 pounds of tallow at 6c, and 50 sheep at \$3.00 per head represented the exports of these commodities from Honolulu.

Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society formed.

In August, 1850, the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society was formed at Honolulu, pursuant to demands on the part of community leaders for greater cooperative effort in agriculture and for the general improvement of the industry. It was frankly stated in a preliminary circular that agriculture as a whole had been insignificant and unprofitable due to a lack of knowledge of soils, species, etc. Furthermore, the erstwhile steady market represented by the hundreds of whale ships was now declining and farmers faced a serious loss unless steps were taken to remedy the situation. What with the extension of the United States boundaries to the Pacific and the discoveries of gold in California, "the consequent almost instantaneous creation of a mighty state on 'the western front of the American Union,' has, as it were, with the wand of a magician, drawn this little group into the very focus of civilization and prosperity . . . Our coffee and sugar no longer remain piled in our warehouses. Our fruits and vegetables no longer decay on the spot where they were grown . . . clamorous purchasers come to our very doors and carry off our supplies with an eagerness that has caused us to feel a scarcity ourselves, . . ." ²²

Nevertheless, agricultural opportunity was "checked and embarrassed by the insufficiency of the four great requisites of capital, experience, proper implements and labor." ²³ Present agricultural activities indicate that "without a single exception all the plantations . . . have been commenced by persons possessing neither experience in the business they were undertaking, or the requisite capital and knowledge of the soil, to carry it through to a successful result." ²⁴ The committee, whose names appear below, stated there was lack of facilities to exchange ideas as well as warehouses to store seeds and implements, etc. The gentlemen, therefore, proposed several matters which should be considered as the general objectives of an agricultural society among which were "improvement of the breed of cattle, horses, swine, sheep, poultry, . . ." together with exhibitions to be

²² *Transactions of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 6.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

held for the display of such husbandry. Stephen Reynolds, W. Newcomb, J. F. B. Marshall, R. W. Wood and W. L. Lee, comprised the committee to prepare for the general meeting which was held on August 12, 1850.

Various items of business were considered at this meeting among which may be mentioned the approval of the last legislature in removing duties on garden seeds and animals introduced for livestock purposes. Committees were appointed to report at the next annual meeting on the improvement in "Neat Stock, Horses, Sheep, Swine, and Poultry, . . ." The committee on Sheep was composed of George S. Kenway, Chairman, Thomas Cummings and Thomas Brown.

Among the speakers was William L. Lee, the first Chief Justice of the Hawaiian Kingdom, who elaborated upon the general prospects for livestock and estimated there were 2,000,000 acres in pasturage, "and in California and Oregon we have an unlimited market" for the various products which were going to be raised. The principal address was made by Robert C. Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Affairs, an able and intellectual Scotchman who had chosen Hawaii as a place to make his home.

The second annual meeting was held in 1851,²⁵ and under its supervision an exhibition of home products was held at Mauna Kilika, Honolulu, where sheep and woolen cloth, among other things, were displayed. James I. Dowsett won first prize of a silver cup for the best sheep; David Adams, \$3.00 as second prize. The Sheep Committee personnel was G. S. Kenway, Chairman, T. Cummings and J. I. Dowsett. The Honorable Luther Severance gave the principal address in which he pointed out that sheep in limited numbers were in the islands, high prices were paid for mutton, and suggested that the coarse wool breeds such as the Leicester, Dishley, Cotswold and South Downs would be adaptable to the mountain environment. A sly suggestion as to how the British Consul could assist in the expansion of sheep husbandry was made to the effect that the sheep breeders of the islands should follow the example of a Rhode Island farmer who received a Zanzibar ram and ewe from the British Consul in that far off station, and that the animals had coarse wool, no horns, large dewlaps and enormous, fat tails. "Whale ships could bring these here," continued the speaker and reminded his listeners that there were Cape of Good Hope sheep already in the archipelago. More potent advice came in the form of a flat, terse statement that more sheep and fewer worthless dogs would be a gain to the community.

In the final flourish of his speech, the speaker suggested that the wool be sheared and that it be used as the raw material for

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, No. 2.

a small manufacturing industry to make blankets, flannels and cheap cloths. Machinery would not be too expensive, the speaker elaborated, nor the labor great. "If every native would wear a woolen shirt, and sleep at night under a woolen blanket, I think there would be less of asthma and other affections of the lungs, induced as these diseases probably are by exposure to the strong winds while the pores of the skin are opened by profuse perspiration. A strong recommendation for the use of flannel then ensued because no vegetable fiber could equal "that which the God of nature provides to retain animal heat."

It must have been difficult indeed, even for the most enthusiastic of his listeners, to accept whole heartedly the recommendations for the use of flannels in Honolulu's equable climate. But one cannot be too critical of the gentleman's remarks, colored though they were by the enthusiasm for his subject. They were made seriously, in view of the fact that the early settlers in the Hawaiian islands, like pioneers elsewhere, were faced with the problems of adapting agricultural practises to their particular environment. They were always searching for new plants, seeds and fruits that would give them the key to prosperity, even as agriculturists today are endeavoring to introduce diversification into the islands' farm economy. At one time they even went so far as to discuss the subject of introducing alpacas from South America.

George S. Kenway, Chairman of the Sheep Committee, posed this question in his report: To what extent is this country adapted to raise sheep? He followed this up by stating that the flocks to date had been largely experimental and carried on by inexperienced people. Parts of the islands appeared to be well suited to sheep husbandry, but the flocks did not flourish as they should due to various causes, chief of which were that there was poor shepherding and no pens or practically none, or if such existed they were dirty and provided no shelter, with the result that sheep ran wild. Such conditions permitted breeding at all times of the year so that lambs were dropped unseasonally and frequently lost. Half wild dogs were the sheep's worst enemies. In spite of these handicaps, the animals looked healthy. Shearing occurred only every two or three years.

Of particular importance, the chairman continued, was the healthfulness of the pasture lands on the leeward side of the islands where sheep could forage widely in the sweet grasses of the region and where there was no possibility of foot rot. Waimea was suggested as an excellent place for flocks, up to Mauna Kea in an area approximately thirty square miles in extent. The speaker concluded his remarks by suggesting that more of the Marino breed be imported as they were both excellent

wool and mutton animals, referring to Mr. French's half bloods and quarter bloods in substantiation. Pure blooded rams could be brought in from Sydney or Port Philip, where they could be purchased for from \$15.00 to \$25.00 per head. The possibilities of manufacturing were touched upon only lightly.²⁶

Incidentally, with reference to Waimea on Hawaii, contemporary writers voice the same general idea of the area's suitability for livestock: "The whole district of Waimea is best suited to raising stock for the market. Horses, cattle and sheep increase at a rate of three per cent. faster than in any other country in the world." The writer continues by referring to the adequacy of the rainfall and the consequent "perpetual verdure" of the pasture lands which with proper care, enterprise and judicious capital expenditures could be used as the basis for a lucrative business.²⁷

Commercial statistics reported at the meeting of 1851 revealed that Honolulu, Oahu, and Lahaina, Maui, were the principal centers for tallow and sheep. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1851, the former port shipped 8,291 pounds of tallow; Lahaina fifteen sheep, and Kauai and Niihau 108 sheep. Wool was not mentioned.

The Society continued its good work and in 1852²⁸ more reports were presented on various subjects of importance to the agricultural welfare of the islands. Sheep and wool were given their share of discussion, as it now appeared the industry was fairly well established, with an estimated 10,000 sheep throughout the Kingdom as follows:

Hawaii	3,000 (wild)
Maui	1,000
Molokai	
Oahu	5,500
Kauai, Niihau	700
	<hr/> 10,200

From these figures it will be observed that Oahu was the center of the industry, with the Big Island next in importance, but whose sheep were permitted to run wild like the cattle.

Prizes were again distributed, this time to H. Sea, Oahu, for his fine sheep; C. W. Vincent, Oahu, and Mr. Sparks, Hawaii, for two wool samples of quality. Chairman of the Sheep Committee for the ensuing year was J. Meek, with H. Sea, T. Cummings, J. I. Dowsett, and C. G. Hopkins members.

The speech of the day was delivered by E. H. Allen, who made recommendations for increased sheep production and stated that fine animals could be obtained from Sydney. Instead

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-74.

²⁷ A. Haole (G. W. Bates), *Sandwich Island Notes* (1854), p. 366.

²⁸ *Transactions of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society*, Vol. 1, No. 3.

of building fences he advocated the planting of osage orange hedges which grow rapidly.

The report of the Sheep Committee included reference to Mr. Sea's two Merino ewes from Sydney, a half breed from Honolulu and two black sheep of a foreign breed; that Waimea wool had been sent to Sydney with good results, and that Mr. Moffitt had sheep. The following figures were presented to show the extent of wool and tallow exports:

	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
Tallow, lbs.	17,236	4,180	17,403	3,703	4,588
Wool	(for eight years) 2,000 lbs.				

Here again is statistical proof of the economic position of wool indicating that the fiber was of less importance than the meat and its by-products.

The Society's report for 1853²⁹ contained essentially the same data as for the previous years, and insofar as sheep were concerned, the problems of breeding, shepherding, pen construction and protection from injurious animals occupied the discussions. Importations of selected animals continued: Hopkins and Moffitt with Merinos from Australia and Thomas Cummings with two ewes with lamb and two South Down rams from the McIntyre flock, Albany, New York. The last named were high grade animals having been bred to an English ram owned by L. G. Morris, who was president of the New York State Agricultural Society. A wool sample sent to Boston for grading had been reported worth 50c per pound, washed, on the sheep's back.

Two negative aspects were voiced, namely, that the breeds brought in by Mr. French had degenerated and that the reports of land adapted to sheep raising were exaggerated. The grass produced an irritating seed which had a habit of working through the wool and into the skin of the animal causing considerable discomfort. Other items were that the Wailua Falls estate of Thomas Brown had been sold, including the sheep; that Moffitt of Koolauloa had been the most progressive of sheep owners, having brought in six Merinos previously and now had twelve of that breed. Prizes were won by Alexander Adams for a ram and ewe, Moffitt for a wool exhibit, and J. Meek for a white fleece. The Sheep Committee was composed of R. Moffitt, William Webster, T. Cummings, J. O. Dominis, D. Adams.

The 1854 meeting³⁰ continued the discussion as to the adaptability of the islands for sheep with Moffitt supporting the claim that Merinos were well adapted to the climate, and that cross-

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 4.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 1.

breeds with those from Australia gave excellent results in carcass, meat and fiber. Half breed yearlings, he stated, grew as large as their mothers. South Downs ranked highly in his estimation and were a valuable addition to the islands' flocks.

Growers were again criticised for their careless husbandry practices in permitting rams to run promiscuously with the ewes, who, as a result, produced prodigiously at the rate of three or four lambs a year. Many of these were lost when the flock was allowed to run uncontrolled because the little ones could not keep up with the older animals. Both lambs and nursing mothers were injured when the faster moving wethers and young sheep kept ahead of them and ate the available pasture before the lambs could catch up with the flock. Some mothers even deserted their offspring. In the matter of disease Hawaii was very fortunate, there being no scab, only a cutaneous infection caused by yolk or grease deficiency due to wet and cold obstructing perspiration.

Shepherding came in for its share of criticism. Natives had earned a reputation as poor caretakers and no amount of remuneration could induce them to tend sheep. Chinese coolies were far better shepherds.

The sheep men inveighed heavily against the wild dogs, always a timely subject at these meetings. Many measures were taken to reduce the number of these marauding pests but apparently with little effect. There was a certain hesitancy on the part of some of the sheep owners to take too drastic action because in doing so they would incur the displeasure, amounting to ill-will, of their neighbors. It will be recalled that the Hawaiians were great lovers of dogs, both alive and roasted, although it may be presumed that the custom had become less important by this time. Illustrative of the point when certain flock owners had taken matters into their own hands, was the petition to the legislature against dog shooting "signed by six old women, five school children and four bereaved masters of hounds. There is a nominal tax of one dollar a year on the filthy, mangy, mischievous curs so dear to the native Hawaiians, not ten per cent, of which is collected," so spoke Robert Moffitt, Chairman of the committee. The suggestion was made that a fat wether with strychnine be laid out as the best remedy against the damaging brutes, which action would offer better protection "than the united wisdom of both our Houses of Legislature and the Privy Council to boot." Mules and donkeys were also listed with the vicious dogs.

The problem of enclosures was also freely discussed. Nets, for example, made from spun yarn or marline-stuff with two-inch meshes and a width of three and one half feet, were suggested. Ratlin stuff was then reeved through the top and bot-

tom and attached to iron posts. These were most convenient to have because such fences could be moved when necessary, particularly during lambing season. Stone pens were useless as a protective device and besides they never dried out.

New names appeared on the list of sheep raisers: Dr. S. P. Ford, who imported four French Merinos and two South Down rams from Australia; Mr. Montgomery, same; and Captain Meek, South Downs from Vancouver Island. In this connection it is quite probable that the forthcoming sheep had been purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company who had moved their livestock from their large Puget Sound holdings after the hearings between the British and American governments had been completed. The Sheep Committee for 1854 was composed of S. P. Ford, T. Cummings, William Webster, R. Moffitt, J. I. Dowsett, G. M. Robertson.

Tallow exports were 16,425 pounds. The wool figures were two years late but were stated as 10,824 pounds. Imports comprised four sheep at \$280.00.

Decline of interest in sheep husbandry is observed in the Society's report for 1855³¹ when the announcement was made that no prizes would be awarded for sheep exhibitions that year because the animals exhibited were of an inferior quality. Nevertheless, a Sheep Committee was appointed composed of R. Moffitt, T. Cummings, E. Sparks, J. I. Dowsett and R. W. Wood. Sheep importations continued to be made in a small way from Australia by John Montgomery; others were brought from Van Diemens Land (Tasmania) and the United States.

Land on the windward side of some of the islands and between mountain ranges afforded ample feeding grounds for the livestock which had been introduced since Vancouver's time. As stated previously, these lands were variously held by private owners or the government and royalty and rents paid or collected for their use as the case might be. The entry book of King Kamehameha IV shows his income from certain flocks in which he had an interest. One entry on February 18, 1856, is as follows:

"Credit to stock account \$95.75, this being His Majesty's share of \$252.75 received from J. Dowsett for 75 sheep from Maunaloa. The original no. of sheep taken to Maunaloa Dec. 15, 1854 was 920 of which 570 belonged to Wm. Webster & 350 to His Majesty."

Another entry reveals that the King received from William Maxwell \$59.85, "being His Majesty's 38/100 share of the proceeds of 45 sheep valued at \$3.50." Altogether the King had on his books between February 18 and September 6 the sum of

³¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 2.

\$577.22 almost all of which represented income from 38/100 share of a designated number of sheep. No explanation is advanced for the constant repetition of the fractional number. Traditionally his holdings were on the Big Island, but he also had sheep on the other islands.³²

According to a survey made at the time, it was estimated there were 2,000,000 acres of land suitable for pasturage upon which were grazing 10,200 sheep, 40,700 cattle, and 11,700 horses.³³ Commercial statistics up to June 30, 1857, showed 243 casks of tallow and 139 bales of wool. That year Messers. Louzada and Spencer imported ten rams and three ewes by the *Vaquero* and when they arrived they were pridefully exhibited at F. Spencer's store on Hotel street before being shipped to Hawaii. The animals had been selected from James Aitken's flock at Victoria (Australia, probably). They were fine wool bearers, the rams' fleece weighed 13 pounds and the ewes' nine pounds each, equal to the finest American Merino wool. The editor of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* hailed these importations as a sign of progress.^{33a}

Late in 1858 there was a brief revival of interest in imported animals with the delivery at Honolulu of the first Saxon-Merinos on the bark *Harburg*, 180 days out, to L. Smith of Waimea for shipment to Louzada and Spencer. They had been ordered two years before through the firm of Hoffschlaeger & Stapenhorst. Spencer's store was again the exhibition place and the editor of the *Advertiser*, inspecting the new animals approvingly, prophesies that in a few years hence "our exports of wool to England and the United States will be counted by thousands of bales instead of hundreds as now."³⁴

In 1859 the exports of sheep products from Honolulu were estimated at 878 sheep, 606 pounds of tallow and 200 pounds of wool. In the British Consul's report to the Admiralty it states that wool has been improving in quality as well as in quantity and that it probably would very soon be an important article of commerce from the islands. There were fewer exported, however. He continues, that San Francisco was becoming a recognized transshipment point for whale oil cargoes from the islands. American ships were calling at this rising young port of the Pacific and loading California hides, tallow and wool, since the region was known for its great herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. From the viewpoint of this British officer such diversion of trade from Great Britain was a serious situation, and he wrote a lengthy report to the British Foreign

³² Journal Entrybook, Kamehameha's Private Lands, in Public Archives, Honolulu.

³³ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, July 23, 1857.

^{33a} *Ibid.*, December 24, 1857.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, October 21, 1858.

Office concerning the matter and about the future of British trade in the islands.³⁵

Trade relationships with the mainland were natural in view of the latter's proximity to Hawaii as compared to England. Although markets for the islands' produce were all important, the needs of an expanding population in an insular environment were paramount. Self sufficiency was out of the question now that the population had acquired a definite American and European aspect. Broadly interpreted, this meant that the whole gamut of needs characteristic of a modern civilization from machinery and supplies to needles and pins must be purchased outside the archipelago. The imports about this time were in the neighborhood of \$200,000 for a six-month's period.

*The Wyllie-Allen Kahoolawe Sheep Project*³⁶.

Eighty-one years ago two officials of the Kingdom of Hawaii namely, Robert C. Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and E. H. Allen, Chief Justice, launched what they fondly hoped would be the beginning of a successful sheep raising business venture and at the same time the founding of country estates, on the little known island of Kahoolawe. On April 1, 1858, Mr. Wyllie obtained from the government a twenty-year lease of that island for an annual rental of \$505. No time was lost by the partners, who were also the best of friends, in initiating their sheep raising enterprise. They employed W. F. Allen (not related to the above) to visit Kahoolawe and make a thorough inspection of the place. He proceeded to do this by sailing May 11, 1858, on the schooner *Kamehameha IV* for Lahaina, Maui, the journey taking two days. After his arrival he was detained four days by the wind, but finally hired a boat "manned by six natives, and made the passage to Kahoolawe in five and one-half hours which is called quick time." Because the whole report,* dated May 31, 1858, is pertinent to the subject of this paper, it is reproduced in full as follows:

"The Island lies about ten miles from the nearest point of Maui, and about twelve miles from the nearest point of Lanai, the Island is located by compass about North North East by South South West, which brings it in a line or nearly so of the Trade Winds, which sweep down both shores, and over the Island with a good deal of force. There are some small valleys at the moth of the Ravines where there is shelter from the wind.

"The Island on the North Side is rocky, but as you follow the shore along to the South West you find several small places where there is a small sand beach, and on good sized harbour, where a small vessel could run in and anchor protected from the wind by the high land, this is called Ahupu;

³⁵ British Foreign Office File—1860-62, 1865-69. Public Archives.

³⁶ From original correspondence of Robert C. Wyllie, and Judge E. H. Allen in Public Archives, Honolulu, T. H., supplemented by reference to "The Kahoolawe Boom of 80 Years Ago." Louise Hollingsworth, Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*, July 16, 1938.

*Editor's note: The wording and the spelling are as in the original.

here I should recommend a vessel to go to land any freight she might have. This harbour is some five miles from the part of the Island where the good feed is.

"The shore of the Island is from one to two miles wide almost all rocks before you come to good soil; the best soil is on top on the Northern part of the Island; it is comparatively level on top, the descent is very gradual from the Northern to the Southern extremity.

"In the center of the Northern part is a mound which is the highest point of land on the Island, about this the soil is very good being a sort of loom, here the Natives have some Sugar cane growing, mellons, potatoes and pumpkins grow well here. On the South and seaward side there is a small harbour, but I do not think it would be of much use as it is to far off. Here as well as at the Harbour on the other side is a small well of water, and by digging no doubt plenty of water could be obtained, but it would be brackish. The rock abounding here is mostly the black lava, there is rock on the North side having very much the appearance of slate stone.

"I killed while here with the aid of Dogs belonging to the Natives one Goat and one Hog, and poisoned the meat, but whether it had the effect of killing any Dogs I do not know, a large portion of the meat was eaten during the night but no dead Dogs were found in the morning. It is impossible for me to estimate the number of Dogs, Goats or Hogs there as I saw but one of each, they are all very wild, one cannot get within gunshot of them, the Goats and the Hogs are killed by Dogs.

"I should recommend that the House be built on the top near the mound, and that it should be shingled, that a cistern be sunk for water. The material would have to be packed up from the beach. I should think Donkeys would be the cheapest and best animal for this purpose.

"The are especialy two kinds of Grass which abound, both of which are very coarse, there is also a shrub called Aacoco which is filled with a milky juice of which sheep are very fond, and it answers for both food and drink for them. The Aacoco and a shrubby tree called Widdi Widdi are all the approach to trees on the Island. The Prickly Pear grows here, and a very small shrub a species of milk weed. The Birds which frequent the Island are Plover, Pigeons, & Owls, there are a good many Pigeons, and I should think in the season there were a good many Plover.

"I should think the best way to exterminate the Dogs is to moove your sheep over after building a good pen, and pen them every night, this will attract the Dogs, and I would then strew about the pen poisoned meat. In this I think they might be killed.

"I found on the Island about fifty Natives men, women and children, the men are engaged in fishing which is very good there most of the year, as there are several kind which frequent the sea about the Island. These natives do not live here all the year, but are here most of the time except during the rainy season, their food (Poi) they bring from Maui after disposing of their Fish in Lahaina.

"There are Houses along the South West or Lahaina side of the Island at three different locations about five miles apart. These Natives are anxious to remain here, and some of them are willing to be employed as shephards.

"From the examination I have made and from the information I have obtained I am of opinion that the sheep will not suffer for water, and the shrubs and some of the grass is very well addapted for sheep, and the feed will improve. Of the number of sheep the Island will sustain no accurate opinion can be formed. Mr. Torbert who has been all over the Island thinks there is ample pasturage for 20,000 sheep. That is a large number but perhaps it may do it.

Respectfully submitted by

Wm. F. Allen"

For rendering such a complete report William F. Allen was paid \$190.38 on July 17.

In the meantime correspondence ensued between the partners and Dr. Ferdinand Hutchison of Lahaina involving the purchase of sheep with which to start the enterprise. Mr. Wyllie was directed by his partner to inquire of the sheep raising doctor his price on 500 to 1000 animals, or his whole flock less the wethers "which it will not be well to be at the expense of removal to the Island. We want good Ewes and good rams." Judge Allen apparently had already ventured into sheep raising or had earlier acquired animals for breeding purposes, a hobby indulged in by many prominent *haole* residents of the time, for he continues in his letter of June 4, 1858, to Mr. Wyllie:

"I have rams enough for 5000 ewes. We shall not have occasion to buy any more, except as we send to Australia for them. I have sufficient number for exchanges—which it will be well for us to make. Our income must be from the wool, mutton will be a small part, and hence we must obtain the very best stock, or more properly speaking, *the best blood*. Australia is the best market for such."

A short note to Dr. Hutchison conveys the information about the rams and inquires, "Would you require cash down or part cash and part credit." "Whether the deal was ever consummated is not clear, as there is an interim of six months with no intervening letters either in Judge Allen's very legible handwriting or Mr. Wyllie's almost indecipherable script.

Correspondence was also had with Jules Dudoit, who had plenty of sheep and was under financial obligations to Mr. Wyllie. "I shall be willing to take them, if landed on Kahoolawe, at a low price per head," he says in a letter to his partner.

It was known in Honolulu that the partners contemplated entering the sheep business. In answer to a letter from Mr. Wyllie, the Honolulu firm of Louzada, Spencer and Company under date of January 18, 1859, quotes prices and terms on 1500 ewes, half of which had been bred to imported Australian rams and would therefore "enhance the value of the first lambing at least 50c per head." Most of the ewes were not over four years old and came from the same stock which produced the wool which had been shipped to H. A. Peirce, Boston, and which had sold for 35c a pound. The following prices and terms of delivery were made: ewes with lambs by their sides delivered at Kawaihae, \$3.50 per head, or at the Island of Kahoolawe, \$4.00 per head; ewes without lambs at Kawaihae, \$3.00 per head, or at Kahoolawe, \$3.50 per head. In either case, the purchaser would run "no risk of accidents or deaths but paying for those only delivered Sound and in good health at either place, any that suffer Injury to be objected to at the

time of delivery; the terms of Payment to be 25 per cent Cash, the Balance at Four and Six Months." Mr. Wyllie did not accept this inviting offer but replied by saying that the 2000 sheep of the Allen flock are now ready to be transported to Kahoolawe and are all that the partners contemplate owning at the present time until the extent of pasturage is determined.

The month of May rolled around; over a year had passed since the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court facetiously launched their project in sheep husbandry by jocularly referring to their prospective baronial estates on the little island as "Kahoo" and "Lawe." One easily pictures the bachelor-minister in repose at peaceful "Rosebank" his home near Honolulu. At his back door are the steep, green slopes of rain-washed Nuuanu valley. The front view encompasses a wide lawn which runs down to meet the road over the Pali, its verdant smoothness intercepted by a row of stately royal palms enclosing shade-giving mango trees. What need of castellated mansions indeed!

In the meantime, correspondence may be assumed to have been carried on between Judge Allen, Mr. Wyllie and a Mr. Merrill of Maui concerning the sale and purchase of sheep. Under date of May 4, 1859, there was issued from "Rosebank" an authorization empowering William Webster, the King's land agent, to go to Kahoolawe at his convenience and "fix the price per head of 1991 Ewes, 17 wethers and 317 lambs, placed by Mr. Merrill on that Island as reported by him to the undersigned on the 28th April last." This is the first indication that the project was actually under way. The sheep were purchased on the basis of "on the beach of Maui ready for shipment . . . and that the sheep &c. were sound and healthy." The astute Scotchman, novice at sheep raising, "desires to know the actual number and condition of each class, actually existing on the Island in respect to health and fleece, what number and kind of Rams should be supplied, the price at which they may be procured and the proper course to be pursued in regard to Shepherds, pens, &c, with any other suggestions that Mr. Webster may think proper to make."

The subject of the extinguishment of wild dogs came in for its share of attention as did the vital question of pasturage and water, with particular reference to the "probability of irrigation by Artesian Wells."

Provision was also made for arbitration in case Mr. Webster and Mr. Merrill could not agree on values or any other disputatious point, in which case the former was to appoint an umpire if the latter agreed also. Webster also had the right to select a representative to perform all the duties which he

himself was ordinarily empowered to do in case he was "prevented from visiting Kahoolawe in person."

"And if neither Mr. Webster nor any other fit and intelligent person can be found willing to visit Kahoolawe and to do all that is in herein required, the undersigned is willing to leave the whole to Mr. Allen alone, in whom he has the most unlimited confidence, if he should be able to visit the Island." Allen's judgment was to be final in the matter of sending rams, goats and shepherd dogs to the island. A fair remuneration was to be received by Webster, or anyone appointed by him, for performing the within mentioned services.

Apparently the project was successfully initiated, for two men were employed by E. H. Allen to go to the island to shear and care for the sheep, but of greater importance, to carefully examine each animal for disease, it appearing that the flock recently purchased from Merrill was badly affected with the scab. A large iron pot in which to mix a decoction of tobacco and turpentine, a popular sheep dip of the time, was sent over on a whaling ship from Lahaina. Webster confirmed the above information to Mr. Wyllie who reported as follows to Judge Allen:

"He [Webster] reports that the sheep are *as bad with the scab as bad can be*, and not worth 50 cents per head and that Merrill's flock had been so affected a year before he moved them.

"His anxiety to throw them upon the Island, and to get paid for them, is now easily explained. I have no confidence whatever in him, nor in the letter of 23d April from Dr. McDougal which he presented. The letter is signed by the Dr., but it is not in his style.

"If ever Kahoolawe is to be worth anything, we must retrace our steps, and run no foolish risks, which it has been our misfortune to do from the very beginning."

By June 2, 1859, there were 2075 sheep on Kahoolawe with three-fourths of them affected with scab. So reported Webster who had the previous month gone to Makawao, Maui, to meet Merrill and probably to protest against his sending diseased animals and perhaps to get his advice on how to cure them, if possible. While there, he saw the original flock from which the Kahoolawe sheep had come, and they too were similarly affected. At the same time, he declined to agree on a price, in which viewpoint Mr. Allen, who was with him agreed, "as I did not consider that I had authority to appraise sickly sheep."

He took an eight hour ride over the island and returned convinced that it was a favorable sheep raising area, the scarcity of water during the dry months being the only negative factor, a condition which could be overcome he thought, by constructing tanks like Captain McKee's on Maui, and also moving the sheep to the moist pasture lands where water was available.

Webster continued at length in his letter to Mr. Wyllie by

pointing out that on the summit there were 4000 to 5000 acres of land sufficiently green to support sheep without water. On the other hand, there was the *akoko* shrub which was unfit for pasturage. This covered about half the area which could be cleared if cattle were placed upon it. The best sheep pasturage extended along the weather side from the southerly end of the high cliffs southward for a distance of five or six miles.

"This is beautiful land for sheep, being undulating, stony, covered with sweet herbage and altogether free from brush and scrub of every description. But here there is no water during the dry season, unless it can be found, which is not unlikely by digging at different places along the sea shore."

"A great part of the middle of the Island and the land along the high cliffs on the weather side is at present covered with a coarse sedgely grass and might become a tolerable pasture if burned over."

The lee side was drier and fit only for goats. It was estimated that 10,000 sheep and 5,000 goats could be supported on the island. There was an old crater about three miles from the south end which contained red, muddy water and which dried up during the autumn. Webster was convinced there was no water-holding strata in the island, and, as a consequence, it was futile to make borings for artesian wells.

It was pointed out that the place did have certain advantages in that it was free from weeds and could be kept so if care were used. There was no evidence of wild dogs, hogs or goats in abundance, although a few hog tracks were found and one man had shot a dog. The scarcity of food kept their numbers at a minimum, hence they were not a problem.

Webster finally suggested that if clean sheep were placed on the land they could be kept clean. "Rams can be got here [Honolulu] of fair blood for \$25 a piece of a better description imported or bred from imported merino rams and ewes \$50 each. Mr. Stapenhorst imports fine Saxon rams from Germany and sells them for \$100 each."

In July of 1859 Wyllie complained of his health and asked Judge Allen, who had a joint interest with Merrill in his flock, to relieve him of his equity in Kahoolawe. With that statement there is brought to an end, insofar as is known, the most pretentious scheme up to that time for raising sheep in the Hawaiian Islands, and like many other venture of the period, a failure.

In March, 1860, Wyllie wrote to a correspondent in San Francisco, "I thank you for what you say about Wool. Personally, I have no interest therein, for though I was a Co-lessee of Mr. Allens of the Island of Kahoolawe, yet as his Maui Partner, in bad faith both towards Mr. Allen and myself, stocked that Island with upwards of 2000 *scabby* sheep, I have agreed to relinquish my interest altogether."

Changing Aspects and Later Developments

Importations of pureblooded stock apparently ceased, for nothing is recorded until 1862, when Kamehameha IV received a gift of four sheep from Emperor Napoleon of France. That year also, the bark *R. W. Wood*, Germany, brought six Merino rams which were divided among the three leading sheep men, namely, William Webster, one; S. N. Emerson of Waialua, one; and a Mr. Cornwell, three. The sixth one is not accounted for.

Of importance was the grant of a charter by the Privy Council in session July 9, 1861, to the Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company.³⁷ It is regrettable that no record is available of the details of organization of this company nor, so far as can be determined from reliable sources, are any of the business records extant such as ledgers, journals, or documents of any kind.

Inter-island commerce was important with Honolulu the center of activity. Sheep and wool were occasionally carried between the island as flocks were purchased and sold. On April 2, 1864, the British bark *Bessie*, Captain Gray, obtained permission to carry 3,000 head of sheep from Molokai to Niihau, which was an unusual procedure, as foreign vessels were not permitted to engage in inter-island trade. Fear of scab infecting the large flock prompted the dispensation in this case. Hoffschlaeger and Stapenhorst were agents for Gray.³⁸ In 1867 the schooners *Bernice* and *Rob Roy* took 100 sheep from J. P. Parker at Hamakua to Molokai, where the King had a fine ranch under the supervision of John Burrows.

By 1867 it was estimated there were over 100,000 sheep in the islands as compared to the estimated 10,000 fifteen years before.³⁹ Assuming that the above figures are reasonably accurate and that the average weight of a fleece was five pounds, the islands would have been producing approximately 500,000 pounds of wool annually, a not inconsiderable amount. On the other hand, attention is directed to the following table of wool exports which shows the largest movement from Honolulu in 1867 as 409,471 pounds. Again if the average fleece is taken as five pounds, then there were approximately only 80,000 productive sheep, and the estimate of 100,000 animals mentioned above was a gross exaggeration. Regardless of the accuracy of the figures, there apparently was considerable inter-island movement of sheep products centering at Honolulu. At this point wool, together with other island produce was shipped to Pacific coast mainland ports for local consumption or trans-shipment.

³⁷ Privy Council Records, Vol. II, p. 83.

³⁸ L. A. Henke, *A Survey of Livestock in Hawaii* (University of Hawaii Research Publication No. 5, August, 1929), p. 18.

³⁹ British Foreign Office File—1860-62, 1865-69, Public Archives.

WOOL EXPORTS IN POUNDS⁴⁰

Year	Wool	Year	Wool
1860	70,524	1866	73,131
1861	119,927	1867	409,471
1862	40,368	1868	258,914
1863	233,163	1869	218,752
1864	196,667	1870	234,696
1865	144,085		

A factor in Hawaiian commerce at this time was the low freight rate to California (as low as \$3.00 per ton and sometimes \$1.00) due to the cutthroat competition of the rival steamship companies operating to the mainland. Passenger fares were \$15.00 cabin and \$5.00 steerage.

With the close of the 1860's sheep tended to occupy a place of declining importance in the island's economy. They continued to be raised, but there was a strong tendency to develop the beef cattle industry instead.⁴¹ A visitor in 1874 observed that sheep ran at large on Niihau because there were no wild animals to bother them, and that Sinclair brothers had 15,000 to 18,000 head. Hawaii, Molokai and Lanai all had sheep, and on the latter island Captain Gibson had 6,000 or 8,000 head. It was estimated there were 471,700 pounds of wool exported in 1871.

The decline in sheep husbandry must have been quite serious, for in 1877 complaint is made that "the once fertile and populous plain of Waimea looked sterile and desolate when visited by the Commission." At this time the problems of reforestation, water and soil conservation, and segregation of land for crop use formerly employed for livestock became important.⁴²

Conclusion

A perusal of the history of early sheep raising in Hawaii leads to the conclusion that it was, on the whole, unsuccessful. An unmistakable note of pessimism runs through the whole account. In the first place, there was no natural incentive to produce sheep—no local market as was the case in the colder Pacific Northwest. The salubrious Hawaiian climate called for light clothing only, materials for which could be purchased either in San Francisco, Boston, or London or through merchant houses in Honolulu.

Furthermore, the sale of raw wool in the nearest market, which was California or Oregon, was handicapped by those areas producing sheep in sufficient numbers to more than supply the needs of the four mills in the Willamette valley of Oregon,

⁴⁰ *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual*, 1881, p. 15.

⁴¹ Charles Nordhoff, *Northern California, Oregon, and the Sandwich Islands* (1874), pp. 69, 70, 94.

⁴² Report of the Royal Commissioners on Development of Resources, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 5, 1877.

center of sheep production in pioneer times, and the two mills in the San Francisco bay area.⁴³ Distance from market was no handicap, since wool can be shipped profitably long distances by water.

Another element which must account largely for the lack of success of the islands' sheep industry was the psychology of the native Hawaiian toward manual labor. He did not care to tend flocks even though such labor involved only the passive attention necessary to prevent straying. If this was labor, then the more arduous duties involved in the construction of pens, the protection from wild dogs, wool clipping and similar duties, held less attraction for him.

Unlike many aboriginal peoples, the Polynesians had no knowledge of the loom and shuttle; hence, there was no natural incentive to manufacture woolen materials. Their knowledge of textiles was confined to the *tapa* or *kapa* cloth pounded from the bark of the paper mulberry, and to weaving grass matting and feather cape cloth from various fibers. In substance, wool had little if any utility for either natives or immigrants. The assumption may therefore be made that the product must have been produced for export in lieu of an inadequate local market.

Against the negative factors of native indifference and market disadvantages may be placed the favorable one of geographic environment. An abundance of pasture and water in the larger islands, particularly the more elevated portions of Hawaii and the Ewa section of Oahu, provided ideal conditions for sheep husbandry. It was not until many years later that sugar cane and pineapples encroached upon the otherwise natural pasture areas.

Finally, it is difficult to determine what stimulated the white settlers to begin the propagation of sheep, whether it was a response to the inviting, equable climate, to the mere fact that there were descendants of Vancouver's introductions which could be used as a basis upon which to build, or to a natural desire to utilize the idle lands to the fullest extent and turn them to profitable account. One inclines to the latter viewpoint. At best, the extended effort in the field of animal husbandry can be recorded as being somewhat more successful than some other efforts expended in the economic interests of the archipelago. Experimentation has been the key word in the agricultural history of the islands. Literally dozens of projects flowered but had no substance on which to survive. Sheep husbandry at least fared better than most of them, in that it was able to perpetuate itself in a small way and so augment the agricultural wealth which finds its source primarily in Hawaii's volcanic soils.

⁴³ Alfred L. Lomax, "Pioneer Woolen Mills in Oregon," series of articles in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 1928-32.

Chamisso in Hawaii

Translated from the German by

VICTOR S. K. HOUSTON*

The twenty first of November 1816, there appeared through the clouds, the outlines of several mountains of O-Wahaii.¹

Mr. John Elliot de Castro,² of mixed English and Portuguese blood, was so small that I can only compare him to the little John Paul, one of the story book dwarfs, since he himself barely reached up to our knees, not to make a comparison with taller persons. He was a devout Catholic, and pinned all his faith in a ribbon of the brotherhood of St. Francis that he wore, and whose virtues promised him plenary absolution. He had been married in Rio de Janeiro, and had there been appointed Surgeon of a hospital. He had also another love, an unlucky love, for this passion had driven him out into the world and brought him much misfortune. He was in love with money, a sum of twenty thousand *piastres* (Spanish dollars), the possession of which he could not achieve, of which he spoke with a passionate yearning, a semblance of truth and depth of feeling, with a rapturousness which was at least equal to that of the poetry of a calendar muse. This love was truly poetical; it was touching to see him, as he leant over the bulwarks of the *Rurik* searching the far distant horizon where, in his imagination, he saw a sail; an American ship! laden with *piastres*, the result of trade with the padres on the Spanish Coast! We have more guns than he! We could easily capture him! but never was there a real ship in the offing. Once he had tried to smuggle tobacco into Buenos Aires, and was thrown into prison. Once also, he had tried his luck under Baranoff, which only led to another imprisonment by the Spaniards. He had spent two years in the Sandwich Islands, where he sought to carry on a trade in Pearl River pearls, which did not however come up to his expectations.

After that he became personal surgeon to King Tameiameia,³ who gave him lands. As he was now returning to his native

*From the Hawaiian section of Chamisso's *Account of the Voyage Around the World on the Rurik, 1815-1818* in *The Collected Works of Adelbert Von Chamisso*. 4 Vols., Leipsig, n.d.

Notes are by the translator.

¹ Hawaii.

² A passenger on board from San Francisco.

³ Kamehameha.

family, he hoped to find his estates in order and believed his former arrangements still held good.

The contact with our guest on the way down was to me highly instructive. I had read pretty much all that had been written about the Sandwich Islands, and had collected many notices with respect to their present position, especially in regard to trade, for which they had become the principal base. But here, I was in contact with an Hawaiian (Naja Haore, the dolphin of the white people), who had lived amongst them, who had belonged to a distinct caste, from whom I could hear the spoken language and make notes regarding the customs. I duly utilized the opportunity and was therefore well prepared, with a slight knowledge even, when we arrived at the homeland of this attractive race, who had not yet abandoned their characteristics. Gladly and willingly the attentive scholar acknowledges his debt to the earnest teacher; but also, I gave him much pleasure, since by chance, I once predicted, as the conversation turned upon the gift of prophecy in an earnest discussion—that he would end his life in a convent as a member of a religious order, and by reason of the emotion with which he fastened upon this statement, I would not be surprised if the prediction had laid the foundation for its realization.

On this passage, a statement was made to me which pleased me a great deal and, which at the risk of appearing boastful, I will now relate. The topic of table conversation was as usual, the country that we were about to see that lay ahead of us, and of the people with whom we were to deal. We had but glimpsed the Polynesians; now we were to live in their midst. I observed how intense was my curiosity upon this occasion and how expectant I was regarding the impressions I was to receive. Thereupon, Mr. von Kotzebue said to me in a barely veiled mortifying tone: I can spare the term "this occasion," for said he, "you are always the one whose curiosity is at a pitch, and no one else is so expectant." He also proclaimed that I was the oldest in point of age, but the youngest in experience.

To continue with the story of our journey. Whilst to windward of the Sandwich Islands, no sea birds gave us warning of the nearness of land, neither did we see any amongst the islands. Only high in the air was the tropic bird to be seen, and over the pounding waves we saw flying fish.

On Mr. Eliot's advice, we set our course for the Northwest point of O-Waihi in order to round it, so that we might communicate with Haul-Hanna,⁴ Mr. Young, in the bay of Tokohai,⁵ district of Kohala, where this man, well and honorably known in the history of the Sandwich Islands, was said to have

⁴ Olohana.

⁵ Kawaihae.

his home. Mr. Young would be able to give us news of the situation, and of the whereabouts of the King, since it was necessary to apply to the king before proceeding to visit the harbor of Hana-ruru⁶ on the westerly island of O-Wahu.⁷

During the night of the 22d of November, and on the morning of the same day, the impressively peaceful heights of the mountain mass appeared to our view, over which the clouds gather towards midday and in the evening. We could now see only Maunakea, the small mountain which, though the smaller, rises higher from sea level than does Montblanc⁸ rise above the level of the valley from which it is seen. The north coast, at the foot of Maunakea, is the least fertile part of the island.

Towards noon we rounded the northwest point of the island of O-Waihi,⁹ passed down the channel that separates this island from Mauwi,¹⁰ and lost the trade wind under the lee of the high land. Along the west coast of O-Waihi we had very light land and sea breezes and flat calms.

When in the neighborhood of the point, two natives paddled out towards the ship. The one who climbed on board answered the questions of the well known Naja in such a timid and hesitating fashion that the latter grew apprehensive as to what might have happened in the islands. In the meantime we learned that Haul-Hana with most of the chiefs, was on O-Wahu, and that Tameiameia was at Karakakoa.¹¹ The canoe which was towing alongside, and in which the other Hawaiian had remained, swamped, and we had the opportunity of marvelling at the strength and agility of these people.

From out at sea, we could see the European built houses of John Young towering above the grass shacks of the natives. The whole beach is encircled by settlements of the people but wholly without any shade. Only towards the south, along the coast, are cocoanut trees found scattered amongst the houses. The woods that occupy a higher zone on the mountain are not found in the valleys. Columns of smoke were to be seen in different parts of the island.

More canoes came out to the ship; we traded with several natives, and induced one of the king's men, who had travelled extensively, and had been to Boston, the North-West Coast of America, and to China, to come on board and pilot us into Karakakoa. We learned that two American ships were in Hana-ruru, and that a third was at Karakakoa, having suffered during a storm and reached the islands in a dismasted condition. Fin-

⁶ Honolulu.

⁷ Oahu.

⁸ Mt. Blanc, highest mountain in Europe.

⁹ Hawaii.

¹⁰ Maui.

¹¹ Kealakekua.

ally we learned that Russians of the American Trading Company had threatened the kingdom with war and that they had been expecting Russian men-of-war to carry out the threat.

Such was the situation as we appeared at O-Waihi, and we could thank our luck that we had on board with us, Mr. Elliot the king's Surgeon, who could certify as to our character.

We were becalmed the whole night long. On the morning of the 23d, we were informed that the king had moved north from Karakakoa closer to us and towards Tiutatua¹² at the foot of Wororai,¹³ but that he would not stay there long. Mr. Elliot sent him a message on our behalf, and also on his own account to intimate that it was the Captain's hope not to miss His Majesty at Tiutatua.

We sailed along very slowly. In the evening a dolphin was harpooned. During the night the wind freshened, and on the morning of the 24th we were off Tiutatua. The American ship was just entering the bay under full sail. The captain ordered the small boat put over, in which he sent Mr. Elliot, myself, Eschscholtz and Choris ashore. We met a European who was travelling in his canoe; he shifted over to our boat and accompanied us.

The village is pleasantly situated along the seashore amongst palm trees. Beyond, the view falls upon a lava flow and on up to the giant cone of Wororai. Two *morais*, with their hideous idols, are located on a spur of the lava flow.

On the shore countless people were under arms. The old king, in front of whose house we landed, was sitting upon a raised terrace, surrounded by his wives, and dressed in his native costume, the red *malo* (girdle) and the black *tapa* (the wide beautiful folded cape of bark cloth).

The only things he had borrowed from the Europeans were shoes and a light straw hat. The black cloak is only worn by the chiefs, a resinous colored gum makes the *tapa* waterproof. In front of the king, on a lower level, sat all of his subordinates with uncovered shoulders. The old gentleman gladly welcomed the return of his doctor, though without over-flowing signs of pleasure, and allowed him to explain the friendly purposes of our expedition; when this had been done, he gave us a friendly salute, shook us by the hand, and invited us to partake of a baked pig. (I flatter myself to have had the honor of having shaken the hand of three of the outstanding men of the older days: Tameiameia, Sir Joseph Banks, and Lafayette). We put off the meal until the arrival of the captain; Eschscholtz and I requested to be allowed to go botanizing; whilst Choris remained in order to draw the king's portrait. Tameiameia gave

¹² Kailua-vicinity, Kaiakeakua.

¹³ Hualalai.

us for our protection a chief of his following, but cautioned us of the great excitement of the people. He (Kamehameha), would only sit for the painter in European clothes, that is to say, in a red vest and in his shirt sleeves, since he could not bear the tightness of a coat. He commissioned Mr. Elliot to accompany the captain on shore and sent with him two of his outstanding chiefs, one of whom was to remain as a hostage on the ship until the captain should have returned on board.

I will now relate in a few words the incidents that took place before our arrival.

A certain Doctor Scheffer had arrived at Sitka in the year 1815, on board of the ship *Suvaroff* (Capt. Lazareff) as ship's surgeon, where he remained in the service of the American Company. He was presumably sent out by Mr. Baranoff under the color of a scientific expedition, and had arrived at the Sandwich Islands, where he had enjoyed the king's protection. The Doctor travelled throughout the islands. At O-Wahu, two ships of the Russo-American Company (the *Clementia* and the *Discovery*) had put into port, where repeated disrespect was offered to the King and to the state religion. The Russians had desecrated a *morai*, and taken formal possession of the island by hoisting the Russian colors on shore. European mediators had prevented the shedding of blood, the haughty foreigners were forced to re-embark on the ships, and to forego war and conquest. What part in the guilt was due to his ships and what part should be attributed to the Doctor remains undetermined; most of the bitterness was held against the Doctor. At the present moment the latter was on the Western islands whose King Tamari,¹⁴ he had influenced to place himself under the Russian flag, in revolt against his liege lord Tameiameia.

It is common knowledge that, at the time of the conquest by Tameiameia, the formerly independent king of Atuai¹⁵ and of the westerly islands went to meet the powerful one, and made to him a voluntary submission.

Such was the present condition of things. When later we returned to the Sandwich Islands, in the fall of 1817, Doctor Scheffer had come to the end of his performance. The king of Atuai to whom he had become objectionable had sent him away, and had again recognized his allegiance to Tameiameia. Doctor Scheffer returned to Petersburg where his adventurous schemes and suggestions do not appear to have been favorably received. He reappeared later, as Imperial recruiting officer in Hamburg.

As I went botanizing with Eschscholtz, we were surrounded by a boisterous rather than a threatening crowd. A chief com-

¹⁴ Kaumualii.

¹⁵ Kauai.

ing towards us, whom we could not fail to recognize as such because of his bearing and almost gigantic build, brandished his spear playfully in our direction as we met on the path, laughing the while, and then shook my hand with the friendly greeting "*Arocha*."¹⁶ What he meant to convey thereby was that we had spoiled the little fun, "we thought we were to fight, and now you come as good friends."

The arid scorched fields back of the village promised the botanizers but scant profit; yet it was a great pleasure to here collect some of the first Sandwich Islands plant specimens. "*A Cyperaceae*!"¹⁷ I called out to the doctor, and pointed it out to him from a distance. "*Kuperake*,"¹⁸ *Kuperake*!" our guide began to yell, as he waved a handful of grass over his head, and danced like a jointed doll. Such is the way of these people; they are happy as children, and one soon becomes like them when one lives amongst them. And now it only remains for me, as a result of my observations and notes, to present some little anecdotes and pen pictures.

Whilst waiting for the Captain, we were introduced to the Queens; big, strong and still handsome women. Kahumanu¹⁹ already has a place in history through Vancouver's report. They were reclining together in a grass house, upon the soft mat-padded floor; we were told to sit down amongst them. I was uneasy as a debutante under the glances of my neighboring queen. I soon followed Eschscholtz, who a little earlier had sneaked out of the house. From him I learnt that his queen had made still more pronounced advances. Finally our Captain arrived. The old warrior received him with great cordiality. He now understood the situation very well and wished to handle it in an ample, imposing and easy manner. Mr. Cook, a European who had his confidence and who had just returned from the American ship where he had been sent by the King, acted as interpreter. The King did not hide his chagrin against the Russians who had repaid his hospitality with so much ingratitude; but we who were on a voyage of discovery, and who had nothing in common with the other Russians, he did not want to put in the same class, but would only recognize in us sons and followers of Cook's, and of his friend Vancouver.

We were not traders, and he would not act the trader as against us; he would provide for our needs freely, without payment. It was not necessary that we should give the King anything, and if we wished to make him a present, it should only be out of our love for him and in accordance with our own ideas. Thus we found Tameiameia, King of the Sandwich Islands.

¹⁶ Aloha.

¹⁷ A plant of the sedge family, Niihau mats were made of a variety of this plant.

¹⁸ *Kupe-lake* (bull-rush).

¹⁹ Kaahumanu.

Our presents in return were to give evidence of our friendly sentiment. Two small mortars, with filled grenades and powder charges; bars of iron, which we had as ballast and which appeared to take his fancy, were carried for him to Hana-ruru. During the conversation, he inquired if we could spare him some wine. He received a small keg of good Teneriffa from our stock. By chance the Captain had brought some fine apples from San Francisco. These he found to his taste, and divided them amongst his attending chiefs so that they could also taste them, and he had the seeds collected with great care. Upon the expressed wish of Captain von Kotzebue, Tameiameia immediately had a feather cloak brought out and turned it over to him for delivery to Emperor Alexander. Majestically, but without fear, he refused to visit the ship, because the present sentiment of his people would not approve it. We paid a visit to the heir apparent of the kingdom, Lio-Lio.²⁰ I cannot add anything further to what I have already related in my observations, though the principal predictions of Mr. Marini²¹ have not been fulfilled.

The table was set for us in a house within the King's *morai*, and in accordance with the European manner. The King accompanied us thither with his chiefs, but neither he nor any of his following took part in the meal which we ate alone. After us, our sailors were served in exactly the same style. Later we learnt that with this meal there was connected a religious meaning. Since we had been heralded as enemies, but had actually arrived as friends, we were served a consecrated pig, in a consecrated spot within the King's *morai*.

When we had finished Tameiameia dined alone in his own house, whilst we looked on, as he himself had watched us. He ate in accordance with his ancient customs. Cooked fish and a roasted fowl were the courses, banana leaves the platters, and the favorite *taro* paste took the place of bread. In a crawling approach, the servants brought the dishes which were placed before him by one of his leading men. Captain von Kotzebue speaks of the peculiar costumes of Tameiameia's courtiers who, according to him, wore dress coats over their naked bodies. I can't remember having seen such a costume but a single time whilst at the Sandwich Islands, which at any rate is not so common, since it was not observed by the artist either. Compare Choris' *Voyage Pittoresque*.

Tameiameia kept Mr. Elliot back in his suite. To have been accompanied by him to O-Wahu would have suited us very well. He gave us, as guide and escort and bearer of his instructions concerning us, a noble of petty rank who enjoyed

²⁰ Liholiho.

²¹ Marin.

his complete confidence. He called for this man, who was named Manuja²² from a point ten miles distant, hence his late arrival. The *Rurik* had in the meantime remained under sail. We had already fired signal guns, shot off rockets, and hoisted lanterns, when Mr. Cook brought our guide on board at eight o'clock at night.

With a light land breeze we set our course for O-Wahu. Sunrise found us on the morning of the 25th in sight of O-Waihi and Mauwi. We had lost the wind. It was a fine morning, the air and sea clear and calm; the heights of both islands showed clear and free of clouds. Captain von Kotzebue took advantage of the opportunity to measure the heights of the mountains of both islands.

Towards the evening the wind sprang up again and we picked up the trades. We saw fires burning on the island of Tauroa.²³ On the 26th we made good speed towards our goal, passing to the southward of the chain of islands. A pair of whales (*Physeter*) spouted not far from us. Manuja was seasick on deck and his servant was scarcely in a position to give him any help. Manuja also had the seeds of the apples that he had eaten in our company, which he had carefully collected and put away. During the night we cruised within sight of the island of O-Wahu.

We reached the harbor of Hana-ruru during the midday hours of the 27th of November; Manuja went on shore in the first canoe which showed up, and soon a royal pilot came out, an Englishman—Mr. Herbottel,²⁴ who had us anchor outside of the reef, as each entering ship must be towed in during the calm which regularly preceeds sunrise.

The captain went on shore as soon as the *Rurik* anchored. An American schooner, the *Traveller*, of Philadelphia, Captain Wilcox,²⁵ was just then standing out. Over the breakers we could see the pleasant looking city, shaded by slender coconut trees, consisting of O-Waihiian grass houses and European ones with white walls and red roofs. The city breaks up the level sunny plain that surrounds the foothills. The forest which covers the mountain tops descends well down the slopes. Two ships lay in port, both of them belonging to the island chief. A three-master which was soon to receive the name of the wife of Kareimoku,²⁶ was to sail with a load of taro on the morning of the 29th. The second one, named after Tameiameia's highest ranking wife Kahu-manu, was a fine and fast sailing brig, which had been built in France as a privateer, and had previously been

²² Manuia.

²³ Kahoolawe.

²⁴ Harbottle.

²⁵ Wilcox.

²⁶ Kalanimoku-Wm. Pitt.

known as *La Grande Guimbarde*. She had been captured by the English and then renamed *Forester*. The *Kahu-manu* as guard ship fired the customary evening gun at sunset.

The Captain returned on board not exactly pleased with the reception that had been given him. The people still were stirred up against the Russians and at the Governor's he had to overcome the same prejudice. Mr. Young had been helpful to him. The Governor, Kareimoku, whom the English call Pitt, and who in the Sandwich Islands stands next to the King, had however promised him that Tameiameia's commands regarding himself should be faithfully carried out.

At four A.M. of the 28th, in accordance with a prearranged gun signal we called the canoes alongside that were to tow us into the harbor. The pilot and eight double canoes, each under its owner with sixteen to twenty men, came out. Mr. Young was in a smaller canoe. The anchor was gotten up and playfully; laughing the while and noisily, the Sandwich Islanders towed the *Rurik* into the harbor in fine style, with a power that surprised our crew. We were making three knots by the log. We dropped anchor under the walls of the Fort and Mr. Young came on board to demand payment for the services, which were not performed by the King's men.

I cannot pass over in silence the experience that confronts every stranger on first landing in the islands; the very greedy insistence of the women, and their loudly shouted offers.

Shame appears to be born in man, but chastity is only a virtue, according to our law. With people in a primitive state, the woman is subject to the will of the man and is his chattel. The man lives as a hunter. He takes care of his weapons and follows the chase; he provides for his family. The capable weapon bearer rules irrespective of the use of his power; the woman serves and plods. To the stranger he owes no duty; wherever he may meet him, he may take his life and appropriate his property. Whether he uses the flesh of the slain for his meals or leaves it to rot is immaterial. If however he grants to the stranger his life, he owes him, from that time on, that which is necessary for life; meals are prepared for all, and the man is entitled to a mate.

Upon a higher plane of civilization, hospitality is treated as a virtue, and the head of the house greets the stranger on his way, draws him under his tent or under his roof, so that he might bring to the home the blessings of the Almighty. Upon such occasions he considers it an obligation to offer him his wife, to spurn such an offer would be an insult.

These are genuine, unspoiled customs.

To this people of a light heart and full of joy—would that

I could show you, with a breath of the warm perfumed air, with one glance under its bright and colorful sky, the true voluptuousness here below; to this people, I maintain, that chastity as a virtue was foreign; we have inoculated it with covetousness and greed and stripped it of modesty. No further away than on the north coast of the island, which is separated from the corrupt seaport town by a mountain range, I think I found more patriarchal unspoiled manners.

On the first day I made the acquaintance of Mr. Marini (Don Francisco Paulo Mineri, known to the natives as Manini). He did not meet me with effusion, but I found him always helpful and instructive when I looked him up; quickly grasping the point that I was driving at, he taught me most of what I know regarding these islands. Marini was still very young, when at a port on the Spanish American coast, I believe it was San Francisco, he was sent to a ship that was about to sail with fruit and vegetables. The sailors enticed the boy to drink and he fell asleep; they concealed him. When he awakened, the ship was on the high seas. The dice had been cast that decided his fate. Put ashore at the Sandwich Islands, he became a chief of note, who as an active farmer imported useful animals and plants to make the soil produce new sources of prosperity, and as a wise merchant took care of the requirements of the countless merchant ships that now sought the port. He understood for instance how under these hot skies to salt meat so that it would last, a thing that the Spaniard in the new world claimed was impossible. Marini showed himself as an independent man by keeping away from the King so as not to be beholden to him. He enjoyed more the business world. I was fortunate that there were no ships to keep him busy at the time. During our first conversation something that he said interested me very much. It was an account of the latest news regarding Napoleon. He, Marini said, would have fitted in in our Spanish Americas. I had never yet heard such a statement from the mouth of a Spaniard.

I undertook my first botanical excursion, climbed the extinct crater back of the town, entered the forest on the mountain side, and returned by a valley that, through marvellous water courses, was being won for the cultivation of *taro*. I learned to recognize the cooling effect of the mountain valley, and the rise in temperature that strikes one so soon as one reaches the sunny shoreland of the island.

As I rambled daily through the neighborhood and over the mountains, I will not further describe my solitary wanderings, but will set down here some of the little adventures that happened to me upon these occasions.

There are no bridges over the streams and rivers; yet one is

happy to seize the opportunity for a fresh water bath, which by these shore-dwelling peoples is as much appreciated and wished for, as is a sea bath with us inland dwelling peoples. Everywhere, upon each such occasion offering, one will have his attention called to it; "will you bathe," is a sentence that one soon learns.

In order to wade across the stream that empties into the harbor back of Hanaruru I had removed my clothes, the water just reaching to over my knees, when I heard a canoe being paddled towards me, and loud laughter. It was a woman, apparently of the first rank, who was amusing herself by teasing me. I was like an innocent young girl who had been disturbed at her bath by a rude, insolent, joke-playing fellow.

Upon another excursion, when a guide accompanied us, the way led across a wide calm bit of water. The O-Waihiian waded in ahead of me and crossed over, the water barely reaching to his chest. Upon wading in, I decided that I, who could not swim a stroke, should swim across. I tried it, and lo and behold, the water bore me up and I was moving forward in good shape.

I was inordinately pleased with myself: it is well sometimes to show the people that if not their superior in the art, one is not wholly a stranger to it. At the moment I was awakened from my dreams by prolonged laughter which rang louder and louder from the shore. As I looked around to see what it was all about, I swear that the banks had been thronged by crowds of people, who had hastened there in order to laugh at the curious *Kanaka haore*²⁷ (white man) who, instead of walking through the water like a rational person, gave himself the prodigious trouble to show off his lack of skill. But here in these islands laughter has no spirit of malice. Laughter is man's right, each laughs at the other, king or subject, without prejudice because of difference in rank. I will relate other anecdotes at their proper places.

"*Arocha*" is the friendly greeting with which each man salutes the other and which is answered by a like expression. Upon each occasion that one is greeted with "*Arocha*," one answers "*Arocha*" and goes one's way without turning around. Once, as I had gone botanizing and was wending my way out of Hanaruru towards the *taro* patches, after we had reached a spot well beyond the last of the houses, the following experience happened to me. The greetings never seemed to come to an end, and yet in the open fields to the right and to the left there was no one in sight. "*Arocha*" was being called out to me in all tones without let up, and I replied with a happy heart to each one of

²⁷ Haole.

of them. I looked behind me unnoticed and became aware of the fact that I was being followed by a group of children who were amusing themselves by answering the white man's *Arocha!* "Just you wait!" I said to myself, and drew the crowd of greeters after me towards the narrow trails of the *taro* patches; over trenches, hedges, water ways and earthen banks we went. All of a sudden I turned around and ran towards the group with uplifted arms and letting out horrible yells; in the first moment of fear they took flight, and stumbled over each other and into the water ponds. I laughed at them, and they laughed, and we parted as friends. "*Arocha!*"

Once in my wanderings through the fertile valley back of Hanaruru, I found upon the banks of an irrigated patch in which *taro* was being pulled, a beautiful grass that I could not remember having previously seen, and of which I forthwith picked some samples. As I was thus occupied an O-Waihian met me, seized and berated me, and I could only pacify him with much trouble. I related the incident to Mr. Marini and showed him the grass. The man was his tenant, the grass was rice, which after many earlier trials had at last germinated this year in the islands. Let botanists laugh at me, the same thing might have happened to any one of them. In the herbarium I had not mistaken *Oryza sativa*.

It may be pointed out that in respect to giant aboreal creeping vines, the local vegetable kingdom is represented here principally by herbaceous, air, and bean-bearing species, which spread their network over the low bush; on one occasion, up in the mountains and just off the path, I was caught in such a net, and as I tried to push further, I realized at last that I was hanging in the net over the brink of a rocky precipice.

Not before the 29th were we supplied in accordance with the instructions of Tameiameia. Tubers and fruit, such as their land produces, were brought to us in profusion, and the pigs that were delivered to us were so large that we could barely eat the half of them; the rest were either salted or taken along alive.

The same day the Captain undertook the plan of surveying Hanaruru harbor, and delegated Chramtschenko to put up signal staffs with flags at different points. These flags reminded the people of a certain flag that had been hoisted at the time of the occupation and every one sprang to arms, anticipating the pleasure of a fight; for these lighthearted people love a fight, and for a long time they have been deprived of such an entertainment. Haul Hanna, who fortunately was advised in time, threw himself into the midst of things, appeased Kareimoku, came himself off to the ship to warn the Captain, and was our good angel. Everything having the appearance of a flag disappeared forthwith, and the war was over.

On the 30th of November, upon the Captain's invitation, Kareimoku and the leading chiefs, Teimotu,²⁸ brother of Queen Kahumanu, Haul Hanna and others came on board the *Rurik* for mid-day dinner. Kareimoku was cordial and brought to the Captain friendly greetings. The gentlemen were all in European clothes, even though they were not in the latest fashion, yet all were becomingly clothed. We sat down to table, and their behaviour could serve as an example of propriety and good manners. We, on the other hand were the awkward ones, the blockheads, for it is a well established social obligation that one should inform ones self as to the customs and usages of those whom you are inviting and to conform thereto in necessary matters. But the pig which we set before the company had not been consecrated in the *Morai*, and so was not kosher (to use a European expression), and not a single item of food that had been cooked or roasted at the same fire was kosher. A piece of Zwieback and a glass of wine was the only food they dared enjoy. Of necessity they had to watch us eat, whilst themselves fasting, without being able to converse with us. Such was our entertainment. They however behaved better than perhaps we would have done in their place and took the good will for the deed. Kareimoku drank an *Arocha* to the Emperor of Russia, an *Arocha* was then proposed to Tameiameia, and we remained good friends.

The women in the meantime, some of whom had been brought along, (the *tabu* on shipboard is less rigid than on land, where they dare not enter the men's eating house under pain of death), the women I say, in the meantime drank some wine, and became tipsy, a thing a man of high caste would never do.

The very lifelike portrait of Tameiameia, that had been done by Choris, made a great hit. They all recognized it and were much pleased. I must not forget to mention a characteristic trait in which the customs of the country are plainly indicated. In his sketchbook the painter had sketched alongside of the king a drawing of a woman of the middle class. Mr. Young, to whom the leaf was first shown, found the nearness of the two so questionable that he advised his friend either to separate the two portraits, or not to show them at all. Accordingly the leaf was divided before the King's portrait was shown to the other Hawaiians. Choris left several copies of this very successful portrait here. Upon arriving in Manila the following year, the American merchants had already secured this picture, and had had it copied for the trade in the Chinese art shops. Choris took back with him to Europe a copy of this Chinese work.

²⁸ Keeaumoku (Cox).

November the 30th, at sunset, the ceremonies of a *tabu-pori*²⁹ were begun, which were to last until sunrise of the third succeeding day. Anxious to assist at the holy mysteries of the Hawaiian cult, I went to Kareimoku, who without making any difficulty, invited me to the events, and whose guest I remained within the consecrated *morai* throughout the duration of feast. He left the ship towards four o'clock, and I presented myself at his house before sunset.

I do not describe the details of the liturgy and of the holy practices, since they have been described by previous explorers;³⁰ but one thing I will say, the cheerfulness with which the ceremonies are carried out, mark the merrymaking at one of our masked balls as a funeral ceremony. The religious phase covers only a few hours. As in the catholic liturgy, the people join in here and there in the chanting of the officiating priest. During the intermissions there was the most enjoyable of entertainments, and good meals were served at which I alone was served in European style, and served baked *taro* instead of the usual *poi*. During the meals as at the entertainments, we reclined in two rows on the mat covered pavement, with our heads towards the central passage which leads to the door. The food was brought in on banana leaves, one conveys the food to one's mouth with the hand, and the sticky *taro poi*, which takes the place of bread, is licked off of the fingers. Wash water is passed around both before and after the meal. At night time torches made of *kukui* nuts (*Aleurites Triloba*) are strung upon a small splint and give a very bright light. All this in the *morai* is no different from what it is in the houses. Whosoever wants to go away from the holy enclosure is accompanied by a boy who, as a warning, carries a small white flag. A woman that one might touch would immediately have to be put to death; a man must submit to the same isolation only whilst within the *morai*.

Choris has shown in his *Voyage Pittoresque*, in Plates V-VIII, the idols of one of the Hawaiian *morais*. The types shown in figures VI-4, VII-3, 4, VIII-1, 3, repeated in similar hyrogliphic style, appear to me to be the ancient popular type. The figure clothed in red feathers over a basket work base which is kept in the holy of holies of the *morai*, and which makes its appearance for the purposes of the *tabu-pori*, has the same characteristics. The wide mouth is filled, I believe, with real dogs' teeth. During an interval a couple of young men brought me the figure that I might observe it closer at hand. Curious to see the extent to which they would let me investigate, I touched the godly figure's teeth, whereupon, by a sudden movement on the part of the one who was carrying the idol, he tried to make

²⁹ Tabu pule? Tabu with prayers.

³⁰ Chamisso listed the Voyages of Cook, Vancouver, Lisiansky, etc.

it appear as though it had swallowed my hand. Naturally, I quickly withdrew my hand, and they exploded with loud laughter.

The practices that I saw are no longer performed at these islands, and the text of the liturgy will soon be forgotten. No one has given thought to the study of this matter to prevent its being forgotten, and which might contribute to the understanding and interpretation of the outward expression of the laws and customs, so that light might be thrown on their history, perhaps even on the history of mankind, and thereby solve the riddle which Polyensia presents to us. Truly, the Romanzoff expedition might have gathered priceless scientific knowledge if they had permitted a straightforward, earnest researcher to have remained in residence on the island for a year. But, one travels around the world like the shot out of a gun, and when one gets home, one is supposed to have learnt all about the high spots and the deeps. As I proposed to the Captain that I should remain here until the *Rurik* returned, I received as an answer: he didn't want to stop me, it was up to me, I could leave the expedition when I felt like it.

On the 4th of December, Kareimoku arranged a *hurra-hurra*,³¹ or dance performance for us, and another on the 6th. Truly, since I have often seen the ungraceful contortions that we admire in our dances under the name of ballet, it seems to me after observing and viewing the magnificence of the local performances that the former pale in comparison. We barbarians, we call the natives who have a love of the beautiful "savages," and we have allowed the ballet of the confounded poets and of the mournful mimics to drive them out of the halls we boast are devoted to art. I have always regretted, and must here repeat my regret, that some good genius should not have brought to these island a painter, one who was inspired by the art, and not merely a profession draughtsman. Now it is too late. In Tahiti and in Hawaii missionary clothing now covers the splendid bodies, all of the artistic performances have been silenced, and the *Tabu* Sunday weighs sadly and drearily upon these pleasure loving children.

I must give you an indication that I am not exaggerating. On the 4th of December three men danced, and on the 6th, a large group of young girls, amongst whom were many of exceeding beauty. But it was not the latter who made a lasting impression upon me, no, it was the men who excelled in their art and whom one could not say that one was better than the other. One may glance at the two horrible drawings which spoil Choris' atlas. The dance does not lend itself to being painted, and for what he has here done, may the Genius of Art forgive him.

³¹ Hula-hula.

Such enthusiasm and joyful intoxication as the Hawaiians showed at this performance, I have never seen in any audience, or at any other performance. They threw presents to the dancers, such as clothing and jewelry.

I will now mention an insignificant event, but one which shows through the child's behaviour, the character of the people. During the men's dance under the cocoanut trees, a small boy was very much in my way, he stood in front of me and stepped on my feet. I rudely pushed him away from me; whereupon he turned furiously upon me, and I could see on his glowering face that I had hurt the feeling of a human soul. I faced him with an equally angry face and pantomimed the throwing of a spear, as though I had him as an opponent and were aiming at him. At that the youth was pacified and laughed at me; so everything was all right; but that he should be jostled and stepped upon he would not stand for.

Another performance was described to us as the popular war game of the chiefs and the nobles, a sham fight, which was not without danger, since through the rash impulsiveness of the people, it might easily turn into a real fight. The weapon, as is well known, was the hurling spear or javelin, which is not thrown with a raised arm, as was done by the Greeks, but is thrown with lowered arm almost down to the ground, the back of the hand towards the body, thumb to the rear, and hurled with a lift from down upwards. At this game the chiefs wear their feather cloaks.

That I should have missed this performance, is one of the irreparable misfortunes of my life. It was to have taken place on the 7th, but was put off. On the 8th, the Captain set out on a hunting trip to the neighborhood of Pearl River, on which he was to be gone two days. I made use of this time by going on an excursion clear across the island to the north coast. Kariemoku had given me two of his people, and had prepared for me, at the places where I should stop, a hospitable reception. I climbed up the valley that lies back of Hanaruru, and went over the crest of the mountain range, at a point where it sinks to the lowest pass. The descent to the north coast which turns into a precipice, I negotiated in my bare feet, as I had already learned to do in Switzerland. I spent the night below, and returned over a more westerly much higher mountain pass, and through another valley, back to Hanaruru on the evening of the 9th. Just as I arrived the sham battle, which had been held on this day, was drawing to a close.

Manuja had carried out the instructions of his master zealously, lovingly and punctually; the wood had been cut and brought on board, etc. He had been instructed to take back to the King

that which was intended for the latter. He himself was liberally rewarded.

On the 13th of December, we were ready to sail. I note in passing that the Europeans in the Sandwich Islands reckon time from West to East, brought through Canton, so that we who brought time from East to West, were a day behind them in reckoning, just as was the case in Kamtschatka and the Russian settlements. The same difference was the case between neighboring cities of San Francisco and Port Bodega. When one must take into account the old and the new calendar, the reckoning of time from East to West here, Greenwich time, ship time, mean time, and apparent time, sun time and star time, the astronomical day, etc., it is not easy to say what is the time of day. Until the end of the voyage I am reckoning the time westerly from Greenwich, and the day according to the new calendar in accordance with the current ships reckoning.

The 14th of December, at six o'clock of the morning, we summoned the pilot by gun signal and he arrived with a certain number of double canoes. We were towed out of the harbor. Kareimoku came on board. We saluted the royal Hawaiian flag which waved over the Fort, with seven guns, and were answered by the Fort gun for gun. Then we saluted the royal guard ship *Kahu-manu*, with seven guns, which in return was answered by a like number. At eight o'clock we were outside the harbor; Kareimoku and his companions took an affectionate farewell. As they embarked in their canoes and shoved off, they saluted us by giving three cheers, which were answered in similar fashion.

1817

SECOND STAY

On the 25th of September (1817) we expected to see O-Waihi; but a haze obscured the view. On the morning of the 26th, Maunakea was sighted, first through the clouds, and later over them. We first made the neighborhood of land during the night. A thick stratum of clouds hung over the heights of the land, and even over Mauna-Puoray.³² A row of signal fires was burning from Puoray to Maunakea. We rounded the northwest point of the island during the night. The clouds lifted, and on the morning of the 27th the weather was fine. Now we experienced calms and light variable winds. Only two canoes paddled out to us. In the second one were some men of the people. We could only learn that Tameiameia was on O-Waihi. The Captain busied himself again checking the heights of the mountains.

³² Puu Kawaiwai? A mountain which forms the northwest point of the island (Kotzebue, Part III, p. 142).

On the morning of the 28th, we were sailing past the foot of Wororay, when towards 10 o'clock Mr. Elliot de Castro came off in his canoe to meet us. We had actually passed Powarua,³³ the place where the King was staying, engaged in the bonito fishery. Mr. Elliot took the Captain and us passengers of the *Rurik*, to which category Kadu³⁴ also belonged, in his canoe and we paddled for shore.

Kadu, whose curiosity was aroused to the highest degree by everything that he saw and heard, could observe us for the first time, and for that matter the only time, paying homage to a mightier one than we were ourselves, and yet this one was a man of his own race and color. He was introduced to the King, who showed him some attention and listened to the account of the islands whence he came. Our friend on this occasion was timid yet dignified and of good bearing. The Hawaiians were friendly and kindly towards him, and he mixed with the people.

Powarua lies at the foot of Wororay in the midst of a recent lava flow. The glaringly glassy ground is bare and uncultivated. Along the shore there are only a couple of *Cordia sebestena*,³⁵ that have taken root. Everything necessary to man's life must be brought here from afar. It is a strange place for the King to select as his sporting encampment for bonito fishing. He himself, his wives, and his most powerful tenants, whom he likes to gather round him, live here unmindful of the lack of all conveniences, in low grass houses.

As we reached shore, the King had not yet returned from fishing. This fishing is here, as large game hunting is with us, a kingly pastime. It has frequently been described. A canoe is driven to its greatest speed by the paddlers. At the stern sits the fisherman who keeps the mother-of-pearl fish hook skipping over the sea, and splashes it at the same time with water; the fish must be deceived into jumping out of the water in order to take the hook, which seems to him to be alive.

We sought out the Queens, who were camped under a canvas awning, and they shared some watermelons with us. The *tabu* against eating does not extend to the eating of fruit which is treated like drinking.

The King arrived, naked except for a *malo*. He greeted us in friendly fashion and like old acquaintances. The latest news from Atuai and O-Wahu was given us, particularly the latter, and the situation seemed to have turned in our favor.

Two bonitos were carried in after the King; he gave the Captain the fish that he had caught, as with us a hunter would make presents of the game that he had shot. He dressed himself

³³ Village in Kailua area.

³⁴ Kadu, a Caroline Islander taken on board the *Rurik* at Aur.

³⁵ Kou trees.

in the red vest, just as we had seen him the year before, breakfasted and conferred with the Captain at the same time. Mr. Elliot was the interpreter; Mr. Cook at this time no longer being in the King's favour. Tameiameia, as before, detailed a chief to our service. His name was Kareimoku. One must not confuse him with the powerful man of the same name, the King's deputy on O-Wahu. Birth it is true is highly valued here and one may well speak of families; but family names are not yet known. With us also the name came after the escutcheon and the latter as family insignia is of later origin than the family itself. Kareimoku was the bearer of the King's command; everyone, as in the previous year, should receive us with provisions as before. The King asked of us only some iron, which he needed in ship building.

On the evening of the 28th we returned to the ship, and as on the previous visit set our course for O-Wahu, passing southerly of the fine chain of islands. We were becalmed close to Ranai.³⁶ At day break on the 1st of October, we sighted O-Wahu. An American brig was arriving from the north, coming between Worotai³⁷ and O-Wahu, and sailed in our company toward port. Many canoes came out to meet us. Towards five o'clock of the afternoon we dropped anchor outside of the harbor and the Captain went ashore, where our escort had preceded him.

Seven ships lay in port, the eighth arriving at the same time we did, all Americans; only one old ship of the Russian American Company, the *Kadiak*, was beached on shore. Another vessel was expected by Kareimoku, a pretty schooner, which under the command of Mr. Beckley,³⁸ commandant of the local fort, was bringing sandal wood from Atuai. Most of these ships were looking for sandal wood. On account of this trade, the chiefs burden the people with enforced labor, to the prejudice of agriculture and industry. It was a busy time in Hanaruru.

Doctor Scheffer had left Atuai, and Tamari had again recognized his liege lord. I personally did not hear any reports in confirmation, those that I set out here came from Captain von Kotzebue. He told us that Kareimoku had informed him, that the King and people of Atuai had driven Doctor Scheffer away, who together with his crews, consisting of a hundred Aleuts and some Russians, had arrived in Hanaruru on the *Kadiak*. The ship was leaking and barely made port, so that the refugees had to run her on shore. Kareimoku did not repay evil with evil, but received the poor Aleuts and Russians in kindly fashion, and even allowed Scheffer to leave on an American vessel, which in

³⁶ Lanai.

³⁷ Molokai.

³⁸ George Beckley.

a few days left under sail for Canton. To this Captain von Kotzebue added,

"Mr. Tarakanoff, agent of the Russian-American Company, with several of his employees, came on board. Tarakanoff, who under Baranoff's orders was completely subordinate to Dr. Scheffer, expressed this dissatisfaction over the trip to Atuai, as a result of which they were all placed in the greatest personal danger, and he held that it was a real wonder, that at the time of the flight from Atuai, only three Aleuts had been shot; that Tamari, who held them to be his rankest enemies, could easily have taken the lives of many. He also spoke of the dangers of the journey to this port, and of the sorry position that he was now in, that the people would not supply them with provisions without being compensated. Fortunately I had laid in at Unalaska such a quantity of codfish, that I could now send to these poor people one month's provisions. Tarakanoff who seemed to me to be an intelligent man, had signed a contract with Mr. Hebet, the owner of two vessels lying in port, by which the latter undertook to feed and clothe the Aleuts for a whole year, with the stipulation, that he might take them to California, where they were to be employed on the islands offshore, in the sea otter catch. At the expiration of this year Hebet was to take them back to Sitka, and give the Company half of the pelts taken. This contract was advantageous to the Company, which often hired out the Aleuts in this fashion; for these unfortunates, will remain the victims of their oppressors so long as the Company surrenders to the arbitrariness of an inhuman monster, who purchases each profit with blood of his fellow man."³⁰

The attempt on the part of the Russian American Company to seize the Sandwich Islands seems to me to have been fatuous. It is not inconceivable that at Sitka they may have discounted without reservation a people who served as naked soldiers and who stood their watches with muskets in hand and their cartridge boxes over their bare bodies; but how was it possible that they should not have known that this kingdom was under direct protection of England, which Tameiameia had acknowledged. In the year 1816, we saw a letter from the Prince Regent to Tameiameia, in which he praises His Majesty's conduct during the war between England and America, thanks him, and advises him that in addition to the presents already transmitted, there was to arrive a ship, which was being built at Port Jackson.

As soon as we had anchored on the 1st of October 1817, the Captain as I said went ashore. In Hanaruru we had left a good impression of our previous visit; Kareimoku received him in the friendliest fashion and saluted him with three guns from the Fort. The American merchant ships also honored the Commander of the Russian discovery expedition and saluted him with their guns. As the subject of conversation turned on towing the *Rurik* into the harbor, they offered to send their small boats, and they actually performed this service for us the other day at sunrise. Arrived in port, we exchanged salutes with the Fort, received Kareimoku with a salute of three guns when he

³⁰ Kotzebue's *Voyage*, 11, p. 113 et seq.

came on board bringing us fruit, tubers and a pig. The courtesies shown us yesterday were repeated.

The Americans generally showed themselves obliging and courteous. We obtained from them much that they sold us from their own stores, without any profit to themselves; English beer and hardtack from a vessel that arrived from Sitka on the 6th, and many other things. Still an unpleasant incident was not avoided. Where many merchantmen from different nations are gathered in a foreign port, it is customary for the Senior Captain to fire the evening gun wherever it is allowed; but when along with the merchantmen there is a man-of-war in port, the honor is left to the latter. Then through inadvertence, the American Captain fired the evening gun, and the annoyance which this caused Captain von Kotzebue, because of his profession, irritated him because of its obstinacy. The matter lay beyond my province and I only casually heard of it.

The foreign merchant Captains met at Mr. Marini's place, and even took their meals there. One evening I dined with them at their mess. With the hot meat course tea instead of wine was served. These gentlemen were particularly courteous to me. An older Captain asked me how many times I had made the trip. I answered modestly that it was my first time, and was naturally led to asking him the same question. He was then making his tenth cruise. Now he is on his way home, and will then retire. Choris who knew him well, met and talked with him in Manila, and finally in Portsmouth where he had arrived before us. There he had received letters from home, informing him that a ship was awaiting him, ready to sail, in which he was to make his eleventh cruise. But the eleventh was also to be his last cruise.

We took care to reward each small service that the ever willing O-Waihians performed for us, such as ferrying us from ship to shore, and many services of like character, with a string of glass beads. Such small shiny baubles were always gladly received by them, yet they were not considered the same as money. Choris had in his stock many strings of different kinds and colors, which he distributed at random with the others. Fashion set an inordinately great value upon the dark red-colored beads. These were like the ones that Vancouver had first brought to the islands and since then no one else had brought any like them; they belonged to the Queen's regalia. Now they again made their appearance, and many strings were in circulation. They sought their source, and soon were led to Choris, and the rich nobles offered several pigs for a single strand; on their own account the American merchants also made him attractive offers, but all too late. Friend Login Andrewitsch, an otherwise keen

trader, who didn't spurn the chance to make a profit, had exchanged his *doubloons* for mere *maravedis*.

On account of the presence of so many ships, the commercial business of Mr. Marini claimed his attention and time, and I could only enjoy a little of his interesting company. For a year he had promised to write down many things, but he had not been able to spare the time. Now it was too late to retrieve the neglect. I spent most of my days in botanical exploration in the hills, whilst Eschscholtz, who, at least during the first days, was kept back on board ship because of a sore foot, worked over the collected plant material. Watching the packages of plants set out in the sun was a time consuming business and touchy, which however could not be avoided. Once Eschscholtz missed one of his own packages, which he had had on the upper deck, and spoke to me of the misshap. The Captain came up to me and ask what had happened. I told him calmly what it was about, without any suspicion of the storm that it would call upon my head. He told me in angry and copious language, and repeated it, that which I already knew, that that was my business and not that of his sailors whom he would not allow to be beaten because of my weeds. I had done nothing, as the complaint was on the part of Eschscholtz.

Choris spent much of his time with the Americans. Kadu mixed with the natives, who were fond of him, and learnt to talk with them easily. He traded with them, exchanging the things that belonged to him and those that we had given him, obtaining for them a variety of native hand wrought products, and made presents of these to us, as was his custom.

In Hanaruru at the time were to be found newspapers both Russian and English of not too ancient a date. Peace seemed to be ruling once more. To read everything that is interesting in the newspapers is something for which one has not the leisure on shore. Meeting friends and acquaintances, I learned only of the travels of Madame de Stael to Italy. Several times upon my wanderings over the islands, O-Waihians offered me newspapers presumably rather old ones.

Commerce in the Sandwich Islands gathers the most motley pattern of people from all over the world. In the service of some of the chiefesses, I saw a young negro, and a Flathead Indian from the North-West Coast of America. Here also for the first time I saw some Chinese men, saw them under these marvellous skies, in their national costume, living caricatures among the beautiful O-Waihians. I can find no suitable expression for this indescribably laughable sight. (Chinese are frequently employed in this oceanic basin as seamen, they are obedient and easy to feed.)

Once on a distant expedition, after I had spoken German and Russian on board ship, the language of the Caroline Islands with Kadu, and a transient word of greeting in Danish with our cook, after I had spoken with Englishmen and Americans, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Italians and O-Waihians in Hanaruru, with each in his mother tongue; after I had seen in the Islands Chinese men with whom however I was not able to converse, there was introduced to me in a distant valley a fellow countryman, with whom I was not able to speak. He was a Kadiak man, a Russian subject. I acknowledged his status as a fellow citizen, gave him my hand in token, and went my way. The incident appeared to me quite logical and natural. Much later however it struck me that my countryman must have thought my earnestness rather strange.

I had resolved to climb the western range of the island, Mr. Marini gave me his advice, and Kareimoku his assistance. I completed the journey between the 7th and 10th of October, 1817. A canoe belonging to Kareimoku carried myself as well as my guide and a boy who accompanied him. We paddled outside and again inside of the coral reef, that surrounds the beach towards Pearl River, and over this body of water we proceeded inland toward the foot-hills that I wished to explore. Just as I was leaving Hanaruru a ship was coming into port. On this excursion I had the long wished for opportunity of investigating the nature of the reef. One time we ran somewhat to seaward where the canoe had to be pushed over a coral reef. Many canoes were outside the breakers in depths of from ten to fifteen feet engaged in fishing. They were using long drag nets, with which they caught a great variety of fish, particularly *Chaetodon*⁴⁰ species, that shimmered in the most wonderful colors. Here my people busied themselves completing their supplies, under authority of Kareimoku. They ate these fish raw, and without much cleaning, even after three days, when they were already bad and full of grubs. As we were again standing in through the surf, towards land, bad steering caused the canoe to be swamped. Even the recently acquired fish swam around my feet, my men swam around the canoe, and soon everything was again shipshape. Now we steered between the surf and the shore line in a reduced depth of water; all at once the color became darker—we were in Pearl River. During the midday hours I experimented with the effect of the vertical rays of the sun upon my arms whilst I held them out bared and wet from sea water. The result was a slight blistering and renewal of the skin.

Once I had cause to be dissatisfied with my guide, who just

⁴⁰ *Kihikihi* (butterfly fish).

as we were getting into the hills and needed him most, allowed myself and the boy to go ahead, and did not follow, so that I had to turn around and fetch him back. A lover's meeting had detained him. I made use of all the treasury of my O-Waihian vocabulary to read him a stinging lecture, that brought him back to his senses. The man, as was the right of any O-Wahian, laughed immoderately at my excited language which he well understood, however during the remainder of the journey he gave me no further occasion to give voice to my eloquence.

A heavy rain, a sort of cloudburst, overtook us on top of the mountain. The fiber clothing of the O-Waihians soaked up the water like unsized paper. To protect their clothing my people used the tops of the *Dracaena terminalis*,⁴¹ *malo* and *kapa* were wound tightly around the stems, and the broad leaves were turned back all over, on all sides, and secured with a piece of string. In this fashion they carried their clothing on the stems of these little shrubs, looking almost like a turban. I myself took off my completely soaked outfit and came down the mountain "in the national costume of the savage." That the O-Waihians are more sensitive to cold than we are, has been mentioned so many times and is so little worthy of notice, that I hardly need to mention it. I shall merely add that to me, as a collector, it was not helpful. On a second crossing of the mountain range, over a higher pass, we again had rain, and throughout had no view of the countryside. As we descended to the inhabited area, I made myself a decent body covering out of two handkerchiefs. A somewhat smaller covering satisfied my guide; his whole suit consisted of a piece of string some three inches long, *Quo Pene Ad Scrotum Represso Cutem Protractam Ligavit*.

On my excursion I have never carried tin botanical boxes, but instead have used handkerchiefs. You spread out the kerchief, lay the collected plants crosswise upon it, press them with one hand, and with the mouth and the other hand tie the opposite ends of the kerchief into a knot; the lower end will likewise be tied to the others and the fourth end is used for carrying.

On longer excursions where one has both a guide and a bearer, you can take along a bound book of blotting paper in which you immediately secure your delicate specimens. On this occasion, my collection of plants was completely soaked by the rain and rotting was to be feared. Arrived at the house, one side of it was *tabued*, and there I spread the plants out over night. Such a *tabu* will be strictly observed. But on shipboard, a *tabu* is of no protective value, and the whole result of four days work, whether dry or wet through, must "be made to disappear" in

⁴¹ *Ti*, now known botanically as *Cordyline terminalis*.

the shortest time, such was our iron clad rule. In our secluded little world, we had built up, from the various languages, whether on board ship or ashore, and from various convivial incidents, a "cant" form of speech, that to the uninitiated was difficult to understand. Upon transcribing the recital of events on the *Rurik*, these then current expressions come thronging to my mind, and I hardly dare keep these notes free of them.

Back from my wanderings on the 10th of October, I undertook on the 12th a last excursion into the hills, on which occasion Eschscholtz for the first time accompanied me. Everything was ready for our departure on the 13th; but Kareimoku, who in concert with the principal chiefs had decreed the observance of a *tabu* upon the land, asked us to remain a day longer so that he might bid us farewell; and his friendly plea could not be refused.

One may have been surprised that I should have spoken of nobility amongst the Polynesians. Certainly I find amongst them that nobility which, I fancy, was formerly to be found amongst our own people, where however it is already buried and only remembered in fleeting thought. In our own countries the nobility or greatness is only recognized under the aegis of the privileged, and it is only against such privileged ones that the spirit of the times, in its throes bellies to the storm. Nobility which can be awarded or assumed, which can be bought, is not true nobility. Nobility lies deeper, it lies in the meaning of the word, it lies in its true sincerity. I find in the French language, as it was in my youth, words which are lacking in the German, and I make use of them. *Le Gentilhomme*, man of noble race and thought, such an one is a true noble, such as he is found in Polynesia, such an one cannot be invested by any king, nor can a Napoleon create one out of dust. The true noble, that is the last and best aimed arrow which kings have shot against the so-called nobility, though they themselves sprang from it, it was now their task to subdue them. Once it was the "King and his nobility," after that, the middle class grown to power and prominence by favor of the King, became his confederates against the nobles. Now it is also "throne and altar," after which "throne and altar!" was for a long time the password.

I will not boastingly recall past history in which there was a nobility to which my father had belonged. I believe in one God, hence in his presence in history, and consequently in continued progress. I am a man of the future, as Beranger designated one of the poets to me. Hence you must learn to look into the future fearlessly and with trust in the wisdom of the Almighty, and forget the past since it has gone. And

what was then that former and better time for which you so long? The times of the religious wars, with its pyres, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the auto-da-fe? The times of the execution of Damien?⁴² Truly, truly! That was a history of horrors! Read the documents, in the bloody times of the succeeding political revolutions, the benevolent minded protested. Wherever there have been civil wars, men are and will be killed, lacerated, and corpses will be mutilated. But the execution of Damien, thanks be to you, oh my God! that will never be repeated, that time has fully passed away.

But I have wandered from my subject. I just wished to further emphasize that which I said about the nobility in my observations and views of the social organization, and of the caste divisions as they existed in the islands. I take it for granted that, as a matter of course, that transition from one caste into another is not possible; just as it is with types of animals, which are without doubt, and necessarily absolutely separated, and that in the fable of the donkey who wanted to change himself into a dog, and the frog into an ox, that a commoner would not dream of becoming a noble. Therefore under these circumstances envy and pride have no place. But what may one ask, is the conclusion to be drawn from this?

So I read with disgust in Mr. von Kotzebue's *Voyage*, Volume II, page 132, about pilots in the Caroline Islands "who are often raised from the lowest caste to be nobles for their services,"—and "the pilot was raised to the position of a Damon as a reward for his services."

When an upright man is called upon as a witness and says such things, what may we not expect from those whose business it is to write, without having seen anything themselves, of the declarations of the eye-witnesses, to elaborate, to transcribe, to scribble? Maltebrun, in a short notice of Choris' *Voyage Pittoresque*, calls my dear friend Kadu a cannibal of the south seas, and attributes to Eap, where only water is drunk, whole nights given over to drinking. When once a really evident absurdity has been put on paper, the same rolls incessantly from book to book, and it is the first thing for which the publishers grab. As long as books are written, the absurdities may be read in them all, wherever it can find a place, that the natives of the Marianne or Ladrone Islands first learned the use of fire from the Europeans.

But shall I quit the subject of the Sandwich Islands, perhaps for another and last time, without the words sliding from my pen, which you, dear reader, with hasty fingers turning the

⁴² Damians (?) A Frenchman, who having attacked Louis XV with a penknife, was tortured and then quartered (1757).

pages, have searched for with quick inquisitive glances? The missionaries have become a party issue, the missionaries who not until after my time, first set foot on these islands. As for myself I belong to no party. Let the record be presented to you and don't listen to those who, confused, raise their voices in controversy without having seen for themselves. I myself have not read the record perfectly. The national spirit, which must go under before the coming Christianity, I have seen and valued it, so that I grieve to see it go. But I am a man of progress and reverence the spirit of Christianity with its blessings, I believe to have fully shown that in my poem "A Day of Judgment on Huahine." Even in the pious Ellis (*Poly-nesian Researches*), I missed two things; he should have himself become a Tahitian, I believe, before he undertook to remould the Tahitians, so that he might have comprehended and pursued more intelligently his holy undertaking. Sailors who looked for women and pleasure in the Sandwich Islands, might be averse to the missionaries; but putting aside more important accusations, it appears to me from all the evidence, that the missionary business was conducted without sense in O-Waihi, where no progress in the social organization shows any advance of any kind. The quiet observance of the Sabbath, and the enforced attendance at church and in school, do not make a Christian.

Be that as it may, sooner or later, fitted to the pattern of history, the large islands of the Pacific Ocean, will be joined to the world of our civilization; and even now there appears in the native tongue and mostly written by natives, a paper in Tahiti! Listen, listen! A paper in Tahiti! You of the press, the periodical press marches forward; discontinue to be shocked by it and to fight it at home. Do not tilt against the wind, you cannot hurt it. In Europe there is liberty of the press. The tory Walter Scott says in his life of Napoleon: Germany is at all times indebted to the political dismemberment of its territory which brought about the freedom of the press. What he said of Germany holds for all the world. The press is only an echo, powerless in itself. Public opinion is the force that has become great; thank the press and learn from it.

But these are trivialities and not here to the point. About to get under weigh, I make this observation, after a second visit to these islands, and frequent intercourse with the natives, that I had not had the opportunity of tasting dog's meat; since the European in O-Waihi is received and entertained conformably to his customs and prejudices, the foreign guest will have prepared for him in the oven, a pig, whose taste he appreciates, instead of a dog, which he abhors. Then only, I learnt when

it was too late, that I had daily missed the delicacy on board ship where our royal guide daily had had for his meals a baked dog. And so it goes with many pleasures in life.

October the 14th 1817, at daybreak, we got up anchor and the boats of the American ships towed us out of the harbor. Kareimoku came out of the *morai* and brought us fish and fruits. We exchanged the usual salutes with the Fort, took a fond farewell of our friends, and loosed the sails to the winds.

LIST OF MEMBERS
(Corrected to June 30, 1940)

HONORARY

Howay, Judge F. W.

Kuykendall, Professor Ralph S.

LIFE

Ashford, Miss Marguerite K.

Atherton, Frank C.

*Atkinson, Robert W.

Baldwin, Mrs. Emily A.

Beckwith, Martha W.

Bishop, E. Faxon

Cooke, Mrs. Maud B.

Damon, Ethel M.

Frear, Walter F.

Frear, Mrs. Mary Dillingham

Lyman, Mrs. Mary Babcock

Marx, Mrs. Eloise C.

Midkiff, Frank E.

Phillips, Stephen W.

Robinson, Mark A.

Spaulding, Thomas M.

Swanzy, Mrs. Juliet J.

Von Holt, Mrs. Elizabeth V.

Westervelt, Andrew C.

Westervelt, Mrs. Caroline C.

Wilcox, Gaylord P.

ANNUAL

Ai, C. K.

Alexander, Arthur C.

Alexander, Mary C.

Anderson, David W.

Anderson, R. Alexander

Anderson, Robbins B.

Andrews, Arthur L.

Angus, Donald

Anthony, J. Garner

Baker, Ray J.

Balch, John A.

Baldwin, Samuel A.

Baldwin, William D.

Beckley, Mrs. Mary C.

Bell, Janet

Bennett, Mrs. Nora H.

Berkey, Ira F.

Billam-Walker, Donald

Billson, Marcus K.

Bishop, Mrs. Marcia

Blue, George Verne

Bond, B. Howell

Bowen, Mrs. Alice Spalding

Boyer, Frank O.

Bradley, Harold W.

Brown, Bertha Bloomfield

Brown, Francis H. I.

Brown, George I.

Brown, George I., Jr.

Brown, Kenneth F.

Brown, Zadoc W.

Bryan, Edwin H., Jr.

Bryant, Mrs. Caroline G.

Buck, Peter H.

Budge, Alexander G.

Burbank, Mary A.

Burnett, Mrs. Orine

Cades, Milton

*Deceased 1939-1940.

- Camp, William M.
 Canavaro, Mrs. Helen
 Carter, A. Hartwell
 Carter, Alfred W.
 Carter, Mrs. Helen S.
 Cartwright, Wm. Edward
 Castle, Alfred L.
 Castle, Dorothy
 Castle, Harold K. L.
 Castle, Mrs. Ida Tenney
 Castro, Antonio D.
 Caum, Edward L.
 Chamberlain, William W.
 Chickering, William H.
 Clark, Lester C.
 Clark, T. Blake
 Clarke, Mrs. Jane Comstock
 Collins, George M.
 Colson, Warren H.
 Cooke, Mrs. Lilianet L.
 Cooke, Clarence H.
 Cooke, C. Montague
 Cooke, George P.
 Cooke, J. Platt
 Cooke, Mrs. Mary S.
 Cooke, Mrs. Muriel H.
 Cooke, Richard A.
 Cooke, Thomas E.
 Cooper, C. Bryant
 Coulter, J. Wesley
 Cox, Mrs. Catherine E. B.
 Crane, Charles S.
 Crawford, David L.
 Crehore, Mrs. Frances I. C.
 Cross, M. Ermine
 Cullens, George M.
 Cummingsmith, Bro. Charles
 Damon, Mrs. Gertrude V.
 Damon, Mary M.
 Denison, George P.
 Dillingham, Frank T.
 Dillingham, Walter F.
 Doyle, Mrs. Emma Lyons
 Dunkhase, Mrs. Cordelia B.
 Elkinton, Mrs. Anna
 Ellis, Thomas W.
 Emory, Kenneth P.
 Erdman, John P.
 Ewart, Arthur F.
 Faye, Hans Peter
 Fernandes, Frank F.
 Fleming, David F.
 Fleming, John L.
 Franckx, Fr. Valentine H.
 Fuller, George G.
 Furer, William C.
 Gantt, Virginia
 Gartley, Mrs. Ada J.
 Garvie, James A.
 George, William H.
 Gibson, Henry L.
 Gibson, Thomas H.
 Goodale, Mrs. Emma Whitney
 Green, Caroline P.
 Greene, Ernest W.
 Gregory, Herbert E.
 Gulick, Sidney L.
 Halford, Francis J.
 Hall, Charlotte V.
 Hamilton, John A.
 Handy, Edward S. C.
 Harrison, Fred
 Hart, Henry H.
 Hemenway, Charles R.
 Hite, Charles M.
 Hobbs, Jean
 Hodgson, Joseph V.
 Holstein, H. Lincoln
 Holt, Mrs. Henrietta D.
 Hooley, Osborne E.
 Houston, Victor S. K.
 Howell, Hugh
 Humme, Charles W.
 Hunnewell, James M.
 Hunter, Charles H.
 Henry E. Huntington
 Library and Art Gallery
 *Iaukea, Curtis P.
 Jones, Maude
 *Judd, Albert F.

*Deceased 1939-1940.

Judd, Bernice
 Judd, Henry P.
 Judd, Lawrence M.
 Judd, Sophie
 Kai, Mrs. Margaret W.
 Katsuki, Ichitaro
 Kawananakoa, Princess David
 Keawe, Arthur
 Keller, Arthur R.
 Kemp, Samuel B.
 Kimball, George P.
 King, Samuel W.
 King, Wm. H. D.
 Kluegel, Henry A.
 Konze, Fr. Sebastian
 Kopa, George C.
 Krauss, Noel L. H.
 Langton-Boyle, Mrs. E. A.
 Larsen, Nils Paul
 Lecker, George T.
 Lee, Peter A.
 Lee, Shao Chang
 Leebrick, Karl C.
 Lewis, Abraham, Jr.
 Lind, Andrew W.
 Littell, Bishop S. H.
 Lowrey, Frederick J.
 Lowrey, Mrs. Ida I.
 Lucas, Mrs. Clarinda Low
 Luquiens, Huc-M.
 Lyman, Levi C.
 MacIntyre, Janet L.
 McCandless, Lincoln L.
 McCandless, Mrs. Elizabeth
 McClellan, Edwin North
 McKay, William
 McWayne, Charles A.
 Madden, Mrs. Wilma
 Maier, Mrs. Martha M.
 Marx, Benjamin L.
 Masee, Edward K.
 Mist, Herbert W. M.
 Morgan, Mrs. Margaret K.
 Mori, Iga
 Morris, Penrose C.

Moses, Alphonse L.
 Newman, Margaret
 Nickerson, Thomas
 Nowell, Allen M.
 *Nui, Robert A.
 Nye, Henry Atkinson
 Odgers, George A.
 Palmer, Harold S.
 Parke, Annie H.
 Parsons, Charles F.
 Perry, Antonio
 Phillips, J. Tice
 Pinkerton, Mrs. Marian C.
 Potter, George C.
 Pukui, Mrs. Mary
 Rawlins, Millie F.
 Restarick, Arthur F.
 Restarick, Mrs. May L.
 Rice, Mrs. Elizabeth C.
 Richards, Mrs. Mary A.
 Robertson, Mrs. Ululani
 Robinson, J. Lawrence P.
 Rohrig, Hermann
 Ross, Mrs. Bernice A.
 Sakamaki, Shunzo
 Satterthwaite, Ann Y.
 Schaefer, Gustave E.
 Sellander, William H.
 Sevier, Randolph
 Silverman, Mrs. Violet A.
 Sinclair, Gregg M.
 Sinclair, Miriam
 Slaten, Arthur W.
 Smith, Arthur G.
 *Smith, Henry
 Snow, Mrs. Mary R.
 Soares, Oliver P.
 Soga, Yasutaro
 Soper, William H.
 Sousa, Esther F.
 Spaulding, Irwin
 Spalding, Mrs. Alice C.
 Spencer, Robert R.
 Staley, Mildred
 *Stanley, William L.

*Deceased 1939-1940.

Stokes, John F. G.	Waterhouse, George S.
Tenney, Wilhelmina	Waterhouse, John
Thayer, Mrs. Rhoda G.	Waterhouse, John T.
Thayer, Wade Warren	Webb, Mrs. E. Lahilahi
Thomas, Herbert N.	Wells, Briant H.
Thompson, Mrs. K. Macfarlane	White, Mrs. Mary E.
Thurston, Lorrin P.	Wilcox, Eleanor K.
Titcomb, Margaret	Wilder, Mrs. Lillian
Tracy, Clifton H.	Williams, William E.
Uecke, Claire H.	*Wilson, William F.
Von Holt, Mrs. Ida E.	Winne, Jane L.
Walker, Margaret J.	Winne, Mary P.
Warinner, Emily V.	Withington, Mrs. Antoinette
Warinner, John M.	Wodehouse, Ernest H.
Watanabe, Shichiro	Young, John Mason

*Deceased 1939-1940.

KAUAI HISTORICAL SOCIETY
A Branch of the Hawaiian Historical Society
(Corrected to June 30, 1940)

OFFICERS

President	ERIC A. KNUDSEN
Vice-President	LYLE A. DICKEY
Secretary-Treasurer	MISS ELSIE H. WILCOX

LIST OF MEMBERS

HONORARY

Buck, Dr. Peter H.	Emory, Kenneth P.
Buck, Mrs. Margaret	Gregory, Dr. Herbert E.
Damon, Miss Ethel M.	Kuykendall, Prof. Ralph S.
Leebrick, Dr. Karl C.	

ANNUAL

Ahrens, Conrad W.	Hills, Alf. D.
Ahrens, Mrs. Dorothy S.	Hobby, William R.
Alexander, William P.	Hobby, Mrs. Eleanor C.
Alexander, Mrs. Alice B.	Hofgaard, Mrs. Marie M.
Bakeman, Alice A.	Hofgaard, Didrik C.
Broadbent, Edward H. W.	Hogg, Mrs. Isabelle J.
Broadbent, Mrs. Marie	Isenberg, Mrs. Dora R.
Chang, Mrs. Nora	Jordan, Charlotte K.
Christian, Charles S.	Knudsen, Eric A.
Christian, Mrs. Lida	Knudsen, Mrs. Eric A.
Corstorphine, James B.	Kuhns, Jay M.
Crawford, Frank	Kuhns, Mrs. Eula
Crawford, Mrs. Mary	Lai, Mrs. Carlotta S.
Dickey, Lyle A.	Lyman, Mrs. Helen L.
Dole, Charles S.	Marcallino, Mrs. Mina M.
Ellis, Thomas E.	McIntyre, Katherine M.
Ellis, Mrs. Olive	Moir, Hector McD.
Faye, Mrs. Janet	Moir, Mrs. Alexandra K.
Faye, Isabel B.	Moore, Walter C.
Grote, Mrs. Louise	Plews, John C.
Henderson, Benjamin B.	Plews, Mrs. Edith J.

Rice, Charles A.
 *Rice, Mrs. Grace E.
 Rice, Philip L.
 Rice, Mrs. Flora
 Rice, William Henry
 Schneider, Edith
 Smith, Agnes D.
 Stewart, William N.
 Stewart, Mrs. Julia
 Swan, Edward S.
 Swan, Mrs. Ruth

Taylor, Mrs. Clarice B.
 Troeller, Mrs. Edith S.
 Waterhouse, A. Herbert
 Waterhouse, Mrs. Mabel P.
 Wedemeyer, Mrs. Henrietta M.
 Wedemeyer, Henry C.
 Wedemeyer, Mrs. Alice
 Wilcox, Mrs. Anna C.
 Wilcox, Elsie H.
 Wilcox, Mabel I.
 Willey, Henry A.
 Willey, Mrs. Juelle

*Deceased 1939-1940.

